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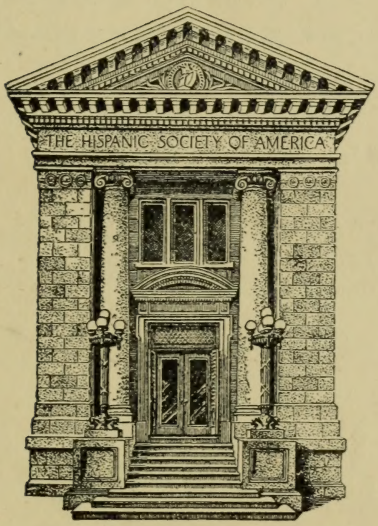

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ESSAYS, STUDIES, AND BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES ISSUED BY THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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ANTONIO PEREZ

BY

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PREFACE

THE intention with which the present book was begun was not historical, but it was found that the writer's life was so inextricably mixed up with politics that some reference to historical problems was inevitable. No attempt has been made to solve the mystery which still surrounds Philip's persecution of Perez after Escoredo's death. We have considered Perez's life from the point of view of literary history as the author of letters which, according to M. Morel-Fatio, are comparable in some degree to the *Centon Epistolario.* Philip II has left a very different reputation in England and in Spain. In England he has the repute of being a gloomy fanatic: in Spain the same qualities which have lowered him in our eyes have raised him in the estimation of his countrymen. It is not without reason that he is called by them *El Prudente*—the Wise—an epithet which is misapplied

abroad to Philip's ancestor Alfonso *El Sabio*. It has not been possible to unearth much new material concerning Perez. We can hardly expect it to come from Spain herself, for Perez's conduct to his countrymen admits of no defence. He is not a sufficiently picturesque figure to inspire English poets, and, even in Spain itself, he has not been chosen as a theme by many poets. Indeed I can only remember one or two. Perez appears as one of the figures in Rivas's five *Romances* which are grouped together in the *Romances históricos* under the title of *Una noche de Madrid en 1578*. In the following lines it will be admitted that Rivas does not force the note consciously:

Fugitivo á pocos meses
Antonio Pérez, el reino
De Aragón turbó con bandos
Y desastrosos sucesos;
Y condenado y proscrito,
Pobre, aborrecido, enfermo,
Murió en la mayor miseria
En países extranjeros.

In our own time Perez has been put upon the stage as a rival in love of Philip II's. He will be found in this character in Carlos Coello's *La Mujer Propia* (Madrid, 1873).

J. F.-K.

SYDENHAM, 1922.

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ANTONIO PEREZ

I

In one of his letters Antonio Perez writes '. . . no debe de haber en la tierra rincón ni escondrijo adonde no haya llegado el sonido de mis persecuciones y aventuras', (1) and he was probably nearer the mark than he knew, for few problems have attained wider discussion than his relations with Philip II. But the interest which centred round him after his escape from Spain has changed in character, and sympathy with his hardships has been lost in aversion for his misdeeds. It is only fair, perhaps, to Antonio Perez, to remember that he began life with a heavy handicap. Although legitimated by Charles V at Valladolid in 1542 (2), Antonio was born out of wedlock at Madrid some time between the years 1534 and 1540 (3). His father, Gonzalo Perez, was secretary to both the Emperor and to Philip II. A man of scholarly attainments (4), his moments of leisure were spent among his

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beloved books, writing or translating the classics. The tie between him and his son appears to have been intellectual rather than emotional. From his earliest youth Antonio was evidently trained to be a possible successor to Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Éboli and rival of the Duke of Alba for the king's favour. It was through Ruy Gomez's influence that Antonio Perez was called away from his studies to the Court (5); it was in Ruy Gomez's house that he began his apprenticeship. It is noticeable too that his father seems to allude to the youth as his nephew (6), and rumours were even current that Antonio was Ruy Gomez's son (7). Brilliant though the boy's education had been (8)—after passing through the universities of Alcalá, Padua, and Salamanca, he had studied at Louvain under Nanni and again at Venice under Sigonio, the eminent historian and philologist, and had there listened also to Muret's inspiring and novel methods (9)—it had lacked one important factor, the restraining influence

of home-life. It fitted him, however, for the part he was destined to play, and his dexterity and cleverness, his attractive personality and winning manners (10), soon justified Ruy Gomez's recommendation.

In 1566 Gonzalo Perez died. His valuable library, by Philip's request, was presented to San Lorenzo el Real (11), where Luis de Leon and Antonio Gracian were appointed to catalogue the books (12), amongst which were the works of St. John Chrysostom. These, Antonio Perez tells us, Luis de Leon urged him to abstract, offering to go to Paris and publish them, the net profits of the resulting sale to be divided between himself and Antonio Perez (13). If there is any truth in the story, Luis de Leon's motive was undoubtedly the furthering of God's service by the distribution of the book. His mention of money in connexion with it may have been out of deference to Antonio Perez's character.

At his father's death, Antonio Perez might reasonably have expected to step

into his shoes. But Philip II, who exacted from his ministers unimpeachable morals, was said not to be altogether pleased with Antonio's repute (14). It was not until 1567, the year of his marriage with Juana Coello y Vozmediano (whose continued devotion would go far to prove the spell which Antonio Perez exercised over his fellow creatures), that the secretaryship of state was divided between him and Zayas, the latter undertaking the affairs of Flanders and Germany, Antonio those of Italy (15). About this time too Antonio Perez was made Protonotary of Sicily. This appointment meant an increase of some two thousand ducats in his salary (16). Meanwhile Antonio Perez's position won him not only power and friends, but his suave tongue and his charm of manner saved many situations imperilled by Philip's dilatoriness, and when Ruy Gomez died in 1573 (17) he quite naturally took his place as favourite of the King and head of the Peace Party under the Marqués de Velez.

II

In 1573, consequent upon the death of Ruy Gomez, changes took place in the ministry, and Mateo Vasquez (18) was appointed Secretary to the King. Mateo Vasquez was a man of lowly origin and of ordinary intelligence, who had none of Antonio Perez's brilliant parts. He was not of Ruy Gomez's school and his appointment may well have been made by the King to set up a rival to Perez. For, as in the case of the Duke of Alba and the Prince of Éboli, Philip was not averse to his ministers being at loggerheads with one another. If this were so, he had chosen his tool wisely, for Mateo Vasquez, under his servile and deprecating humility, hid a determination to rise in the royal favour, while his plodding industry may well have moved Perez's quicker brain to scorn. Thus, whereas Perez was day by day achieving greater

honours, the factors which were to prove his undoing were slowly coming into play. For in the following year, the Princess of Éboli (19), who had retired to a convent to mourn her husband's death, was recalled to the Court by Philip II in order to manage her son's affairs. This lady, whose strong personality had been kept in the background during Ruy Gomez's lifetime, and whose love of intrigue and power had found satisfaction in her social duties, now faced a changed world. From being the wife of the former favourite, she had sunk to be a nonentity. Anne of Éboli was only 36; she was lively, clever, and very attractive (20), in spite of the loss of an eye through an accident in childhood. She sought to regain her footing at Court and to this end turned to Antonio Perez, her husband's former *protégé*. That the attachment between the two gradually became stronger until a definite *liaison* was formed seems conclusively proved. Valuable gifts from the Princess were accepted by Antonio Perez, whose style

of living cannot easily have been covered by his salary alone. His delicacy may have inclined him to over-luxury in his personal tastes, for he loved to surround himself with beautiful and comfortable things (21). But such things cost money, and Perez was perhaps no worse than his contemporaries when he accepted bribes, as in the case of the Italian affairs over which he was engaged at about this period (22). Towards the end of 1576 Antonio Perez's responsibilities were increased by the inclusion of Flanders among the territories of which he had charge. This distinction coincided with the departure of Don John of Austria to the Low Countries (23). And it is in this connexion that we find it difficult to reconcile Perez's undoubted loyalty to a master with his treachery to a friend. It is the first unquestionable stain on his character. The friend was Escovedo, who had been trained by Ruy Gomez with Antonio Perez, and who, when Don John's plans seemed too ambitious, had been sent out to Tunis

by Philip to counteract them (24). But Escovedo fell a victim to Don John's impetuous charm and enthusiasm, and the secretary who should have acted as a check became the friend and abettor. Don John, on receiving his orders to sail for the Netherlands, conceived the wild idea of leading back his troops, after he had subdued Flanders with them, by way of England, of which, in his dreams, he saw himself master. Before approaching Philip on the subject, he sent Escovedo to Rome, to gain the Pope's support. His Holiness readily gave his approval and wrote to his nuncio in Spain to that effect. It chanced that the nuncio showed the letter to Perez, who, as leader of the Peace Party, reported the state of affairs to the King. Once Philip's suspicions, like his hatreds, were roused, they were not easily lulled. Since a watchful eye had to be kept on the couple, a diabolical plan was conceived between the King and Antonio Perez. Perez was to show sympathy to Don John and to Escovedo and lead them

on to betray their plans. Antonio Perez did not shrink from dealing thus disloyally by his former friend ; he appears instead to have felt the joy of the hunt. Escovedo's rough bluntness and his almost peremptory fashion of asking for the necessary help towards Don John's operations in Flanders only served to draw more closely together the meshes of the net which was closing round him and his master. Philip II sent for Antonio Perez privately and told him to arrange for the murder of Escovedo. Antonio Perez, who, curiously enough, whilst exaggerating Escovedo's designs, had frequently tried to mitigate the King's wrath against him, tells us that he felt his soul repudiate such a suggestion (25). But the recoil seems to have been only momentary. It must be remembered that Perez judged matters by the standard of the sixteenth century and that murder was then a comparatively small affair. On July 21st, 1577, Escovedo landed at Santander to plead Don John's cause again. Philip, incensed by the secretary's arrival without

his authorization, wrote to Perez in the following terms: 'Ya nos llega el alcance cerca; menester será prevenir nos bien de todo y darnos mucha priessa á despacharle antes que nos mate' (26). Letters between the King and Perez were frequently interchanged on the subject of 'El Verdinegro' (as they nicknamed Escovedo) (27), and in each one we see Philip's agitation increasing. If we are to believe the witnesses in Antonio Perez's *Proceso*, it would seem that from January 1578 a personal element had come into existence on Perez's part against Escovedo. The Princess of Éboli, somewhat roundly rebuked by Escovedo (who appears to have been a strangely tactless person) because of her relations with Antonio Perez, not unnaturally conceived a violent dislike to the man. We can have little doubt that her influence weighed with Perez. On February 28th he received a letter from Don John, urging most vehemently the need of men, money, and the return of Escovedo. This letter

probably precipitated matters. Within the next few days Perez made two attempts to poison Escovedo. The second one, which took place on or about March 2nd, was attended by the horrible circumstance of an innocent slavegirl in Escovedo's household being hanged on the charge of poisoning her master. Escovedo, after a few days' illness, recovered. It may have been about this time that Perez, either because he must have recourse to a more manifest form of killing, or because he was conscious of ulterior motives of his own in the murder, began to think it wiser to have a witness to Philip's complicity in the crime. After some demur, Philip consented to consult the Marqués de los Velez, who was all in favour of the scheme. And on March 31st, 1578, Escovedo was murdered in an alley behind the Church of Santa María, now destroyed, abutting on the present *Casa de los Consejos* (28), by a band of salaried assassins (29).

III

So grave an event as the murder of one of the King's officers was bound to make a stir, but, since the murderers all got safely away, it would not be unreasonable to think that, with Antonio Perez's astute brain and the King's protection behind it, the affair would soon blow over. And so it probably would have done had not the interests of the opposing political party compelled a different solution. Perez was at Alcalá (whither he had gone early in Holy Week to prove an alibi should the need arise) when the news of the successful *coup* was brought to him by Juan Rubio on the very night of the murder. He remained at Alcalá until April 2nd, fully aware of all that depended on his bearing during the next few weeks. On that day he returned to Madrid, and one of his first actions was to pay a visit of condolence to Escovedo's family. Then ensued a

time of wearing anxiety, for Antonio Perez, while dispatching his duties with his usual calmness, had to fence with the magistrates' questions, to parry every innuendo, and to arrange for the safe-conduct of the murderers, four of whom were actually in his house. And his only solace—and that not a very substantial one—consisted in the letters which Philip wrote him from the Escorial, approving of all that he had done (30). He breathed more freely when his tools were safe out of Castile and their tracks completely hidden (31). This was about the middle of April. But Perez, who knew that he had enemies, knew too that his party was losing its ascendancy, and felt omens of the trouble which the future had in store for him. In the harrowing months which followed he entertained on the same regal scale as formerly, went to theatres, and played for stakes as gaily as though he had no care. For by now public rumour and vague suspicions had consolidated into a definite charge of murder brought by Escovedo's son against

Perez. It was Philip himself who told Perez of the accusation, and, in spite of his comforting words, he seemed not displeased that the storm should be diverted from his own head (32), and was averse from having the matter judged in an open court as Perez wished. The death of the Marqués de los Velez early in 1579, whilst it meant the loss of his strongest supporter, also weakened his hold over Philip. And the pathetic letter (33) written by the marqués, a little before his death, to Antonio Perez, sketches a dismal prospect. But, although Perez knew that Philip might fail him, his fighting spirit did not falter nor his intellectual resources weaken. He asked the King to let him retire from his service: Philip used persuasion to get him to remain in it. He again suggested bringing the case into open court, stipulating that the Princess of Éboli's name should be kept out of the suit. Philip refused and advised Perez instead to put the matter before Antonio Pazos, the President of Castile. This Perez did.

Pazos, who could not consider Perez guilty when he had only obeyed his Royal Master's order (34), sent for Pedro Escovedo, the murdered man's son, and in a convincing speech told him that Antonio Perez and the Princess of Éboli were guiltless. Escovedo accordingly withdrew the charge which he had brought. Mateo Vasquez was not so easily warned off. In default of Escovedo, he sought out a distant relation of the family and persuaded him to renew the attack. He set in motion a whole gang of spies, and poured the poison of distrust into the King's ears. The Princess of Éboli in her crabbed handwriting and curious spelling wrote to the King, demanding Vasquez's instant punishment. And finally, Perez himself, stung by the insult that he was 'low-born' (35), burst into Philip's room, and asked for strong measures to be taken against Vasquez. Philip, with his ministers at daggers drawn, and his Court in a turmoil, temporized and bade Diego de Chaves to mediate between the parties.

But, if the Princess of Éboli were adamantine, Perez was none the less so. Philip's own feelings towards Perez were changing. The rumour that Escovedo had been murdered by Perez and the Princess of Éboli to serve their own ends no doubt influenced him (36). He had got to rely on Vasquez, who had the excellent business-like methods of a first-rate clerk; Perez, on the other hand, was associated with an ugly history, which every one near Philip apparently conspired to keep before him. By the end of March 1579 Philip had made up his mind that Perez was not indispensable to him, and on the 30th of that month he summoned Cardinal Granvelle from Rome. Perez, meanwhile, was gradually thinking it wiser to compromise and accept a reconciliation with Vasquez. He was prepared to make it on July 29th. But he was too late. On July 28th, 1579, Granvelle and Idiaquez, whom Perez had always feared as a possible rival, landed in Spain. On that same night, at eleven o'clock, the alcalde Álvaro Garcia de

Toledo knocked at Perez's door, and in the King's name arrested him. A few streets away, at about the same hour, Philip, hidden in the portal of a house opposite, watched the arrest of the Princess of Éboli (37). Could the two unfortunate prisoners have foreseen the future as they were driven to the alcalde's house in Madrid and to the fortress of Pinto respectively, they might have agreed with M. Gachard's estimate of Philip II's character: 'Il n'oubliait et ne pardonnait point les injures. S'il ne se pressait pas de frapper ceux qu'il prenait en haine, une fois qu'il avait commencé de les persécuter, il ne s'arrêtait plus; sa vengeance était implacable.' (38)

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IV

THE ferment of the Court had been such now for some time that it is doubtful whether the arrest of Antonio Perez and of the Princess of Éboli could add greatly to it. Moreover, Philip's precautionary measures forestalled any movement on the part of the prisoners' relatives. From the Princess of Éboli personally he had nothing to fear, and his letters to the Duque del Infantado and to the Duke of Medina Sidonia showed his displeasure as uncompromisingly as did his future treatment of that unhappy woman (39). But Antonio Perez had incriminating documents. Perhaps, too, Perez's loyalty to him may have caused the King to pause. At any rate, the morning after the arrest he sent the Cardinal of Toledo to comfort the grief-stricken Juana with the reassuring message that her husband was only imprisoned

on account of his quarrel with Vasquez. And Antonio Perez, against his own reason even—for he knew Philip—began, after the first numbing sensation, to build vague hopes. Some fifteen days after the imprisonment, the King's confessor, Diego de Chaves, had come to see Perez, and had ended his visit with encouraging words to the effect that 'aquella enfermedad no sería de muerte' (40). It seemed a good augury that his children were allowed to come and see him. Consoling, too, were the notes which the alcalde received from the King, and which a servant of his showed to Perez, for in all of them Philip appeared to be most solicitous as to the prisoner's welfare. But the shock to Perez had been considerable, and it is not surprising that, after four months' confinement in the alcalde's house, he should have broken down. The King showed his consideration by allowing Perez to be taken home to his house, the Casa del Cordon, in the Calle del Sacramento (41), and about a week after his

removal sent Rodrigo Manuel, captain of his guards, to obtain from the sick man an oath of reconciliation with Mateo Vasquez (42). It seemed to Perez, as he took the required oath, that the cloud over him must now lift (43). But he was mistaken: for with guards to watch over him he remained as much a prisoner in his own house as when at the alcalde's. In the meantime, the strife and discord at Court were gradually dying down, and at the end of some eight months the King judged it safe to relax his severity. Perez's guards were dismissed, he himself was allowed to go to mass and to take walks. In short, except for the stipulation that he should pay no visits (although he could receive as many as he liked) Perez was apparently a free man once more. Yet his enemies, as Mateo Vasquez's correspondence reveals, were engaged relentlessly in his pursuit. Unfortunately, Antonio Perez played into their hands by his ostentation and extravagance. It was rumoured that the bed in which he slept was the exact replica of

the King's own, whilst all Madrid knew that his private box at the theatre was hung with rich and costly tapestries. If the entertainments which he gave in his own house were too sumptuous, he could hardly be blamed for trying to earn an attractive name for his parties, since he was dependent on his visitors for society, and probably for actual support in his cause. But for those who sought his downfall his wealth could have no honest origin. They urged an official inquiry on the King, who, yielding, willingly or not, to their pressure, appointed Rodrigo Vasquez (44), his treasurer, to make the examination. The result of the inquiry (which was begun in May 1582) was not at all in Antonio Perez's favour, for it made evident not only his relations with the Princess of Éboli, but his financial corruption. Although no immediate steps were taken, Perez, already crippled in his arms of defence and chafing at his position, perceived the menace which hung over him. Ever since May of the preceding

year his wife had been trying to go to Lisbon and see the King personally. In her passionate determination to save her husband she felt that the efforts of all others were lukewarm, and in a tearful scene she even upbraided Pazos, that singularly just man, reproaching him for his half-heartedness. Her first attempts to leave Spain had come to nothing. After the failure of Padre Rengipho, whom Antonio had sent to plead his cause with the King, Juana Coello, undeterred by her delicate state of health, managed in October 1582 (45) to get on board a ship sailing to Portugal. But she never set foot in Lisbon, for she was arrested at sea by the alcalde Tejada, taken to Aldea Gallega, and put through a strict cross-examination. It would seem a brutal act on the part of Philip to subject a woman to such an ordeal, but excuses can easily be found for the King. Not even in Portugal, where graver matters were at stake, was he suffered to forget his fellow accomplice for a day, and it may well be

that he could not face an interview with a pleading, sobbing woman. At any rate, his subsequent treatment of Juana was more humane. He sent the Padre Rengipho to her, promising to clear up Antonio Perez's affair on his return to Madrid, and urging her to go back to her husband. And with this crumb of comfort, Juana, weak and shaken, was fain to travel back to Spain.

In 1583 the deaths occurred suddenly of the astrologer Pedro de la Era, whom Antonio Perez had frequently consulted, and of Rodrigo Morgado, Perez's squire. The brothers of the dead men suspected Antonio Perez of having poisoned them to prevent their making damaging disclosures. This report doubtless reached the ears of Escovedo's assassins. Of these, Insausti and Miguel Bosque had each died, it was reported, of a violent death. Now Miguel Bosque was brother to Antonio Enriquez, who, either for revenge or from fright, or perhaps because he was seduced by Quintana, Pedro Escovedo's relative, de-

cided to make a clean breast of it. Accordingly he wrote from Saragossa to Philip, engaging, if he were provided with a safe-conduct, to prove Antonio Perez's guilt. This was on June 23rd, 1584: on August 16th of the same year he wrote again, and Quintana likewise urged on the King the prosecution of Perez. Philip was too cautious to hurry matters (and in this respect he frequently lost moves to his adversary's quicker judgement): he would advance no farther than he could see, and for the present was satisfied with docketing the letters for future use. Besides, there was a surer weapon to his hand. Antonio Perez had been proved guilty of venality by the official inquiry of 1582–3. The results of this investigation were not made public until 1585, when the King's edict of arrest was published on January 23rd. On the 20th of that month, as Antonio and his wife were in one of the large upper rooms of the exquisitely furnished Casa del Cordon, they were surprised by a visit from the alcalde Álvaro

Garcia de Toledo, in whose house Perez had first been imprisoned. His orders were to arrest Perez whilst the alcalde Espinosa ransacked the room below and seized his papers. Perez's brain moved with its usual lightning rapidity, his glib tongue served him no less faithfully, for, after sending a servant to the Cardinal of Toledo to ask for the Church's protection, he amused his former gaoler with quips and quillets until a nod from the well-trained servant told him what he wanted to know. Excusing himself for a few minutes, he slipped into the next room, which almost touched the church of San Justo. Through its windows he was easily able to effect an entrance into the church, whose sanctuary he naturally thought would be respected. But a battering at the great doors disabused him of this idea. An agile man, though frail, he sped up the belfry steps and took refuge on the topmost story, where he was eventually found. crouching under the great beams and covered with cobwebs. In spite of his

protests and those of the priests, he was carried off by the alcaldes and lodged in the fortress of Turégano.

From now onwards for some five years, matters went from bad to worse with Perez until they reached a crisis. An attempt of his to escape in the summer of 1585 to Aragón was visited by a stricter watch and by the imprisonment of his wife and children, including his 'dulce hija' Gregoria, that 'lindo spíritu y gentil natural'. Juana Coello's heart may have sunk when she thought of the dangers of Spanish prison-life as regarded Gregoria, but she remained persistently loyal, even under a threat of perpetual detention on starvation diet if she did not surrender her husband's papers. It needed Antonio's bidding in a letter which he wrote her with his own blood before the documents could be obtained. But some of these the wily Antonio had managed to secrete, probably through the intermediary of his faithful majordomo, Diego Martinez, who had come from Aragón to sort the documents. And

the King's officers, ignorant of this fact, released Juana and the children as soon as they thought that Perez was defenceless. He himself, between anxiety for his family and grief for the loss of his valuable evidence, began to give way under the strain, and in the spring of 1588, after repeated entreaties from Juana Coello (whose methods of attack were not unlike those of the importunate widow), was allowed to be moved back to Madrid. There he remained until the beginning of 1589, in a state of semi-liberty equally puzzling to friends and foes. But it was only the calm before the storm. The confiscation of Perez's papers made it possible for the Escovedo affair to be revived. On June 9th, 1589, Perez was imprisoned on the charge of murder in the fortress of Pinto, whence he was removed after two and a half months to the palace of Cardinal Francisco Jimenez Cisneros, which was situated next to his own house in the Calle del Sacramento. And here, debarred from all visits, even from his

family, at one time chained and in irons, Perez's only news—theoretically—of the outer world was contained in letters. Through them he heard of the plans afoot to bring to Castile both Juan Rubio and the apothecary who had prepared the poison for Escovedo. This manœuvre, following upon the arrést of Diego Martinez some time previously, much disturbed Antonio Perez. His eloquent letters to Philip received no reply: they seem to have been handed to Rodrigo Vasquez as so much documentary evidence. On August 23rd, and again on August 25th, Perez was cross-examined by Rodrigo Vasquez on the murder of Escovedo: he flatly denied it. Nevertheless, Vasquez, knowing that Perez was guilty, allowed Pedro Escovedo on September 2nd to bring a formal charge against Perez and his majordomo as the murderers of his father. Ten days only were given to the accused to prepare their defence. The King's confessor, Chaves, who held the view that a vassal could do no wrong if he

obeyed his sovereign's orders, wrote to Perez three days after the accusation was lodged, urging him to confess the murder and the reason of it, for—said he—the affair would then come to an end, since where there is no wrong there can be no punishment (45*). Perez kept his head and remained loyal to the King. He procured six exculpatory witnesses and bought off Escovedo with 20,000 ducats on September 28th. The contract was formally ratified in October 1589.

Perez now not unnaturally expected to be set free. It was no secret, however, that Rodrigo Vasquez entertained a decided animosity against him. Already Gregoria Perez had arraigned Vasquez in an impassioned speech, as she stood, a striking figure, before him, her proud young head flung back, offering with ringing scorn to the persecutor of her family her own life and that of her little brothers, who clung, frightened and sobbing, to her—a group that moved to tears the bystanders and caused a momentary disquiet even to

the hardened judge. But Rodrigo Vasquez, like a sleuth-hound on the trail, was not to be turned aside from the pursuit of his victim. He put before the King the preposterous suggestion that Antonio Perez should be commanded to state Philip's reasons for ordering the death of Escovedo. Philip cannot have considered the proposal as wild as it seemed. He may have imagined that, as Perez had now no evidence against him, a full confession, whilst convicting Perez, would not involve him personally. At any rate, on January 4th, 1590, he gave Vasquez the required note. Perez was hardly surprised at the order, since Vasquez brought it. He merely repeated his denials and protested formally against Rodrigo Vasquez as a hostile and prejudiced judge. To save appearances, the King named the licentiate Juan Gomez to act with Vasquez. Six separate times—on January 25th, 27th, 28th, on February 12th, 20th, and 21st, the judges visited Perez and tried to draw from him a confession. Each time Perez replied that he

had nothing to say. After the last visit—on February 21st—Perez was chained and fettered. The next day Rodrigo Vasquez and Juan Gomez urged him for the last time to confess and, as he still persisted that he had nothing to say, threatened him with torture. But Perez's indomitable spirit could face even this, and it was only at the eighth twist of the rope that his body, weakened by privations and mental torment, yielded, and he cried out that he would tell all if they would only leave him alone. The confession thus wrung from him was duly noted down by Juan Gomez and the usher Antonio Marquez (46). These proceedings scandalized the Court generally: people were astounded to find such methods applied to a man of Perez's rank and authority. A court preacher, the Padre Salinas, basing his text on the vanity of princes' favours, caused an uneasy stir in his audience as he said: 'Whom follow ye thus distraught and agape? See ye not the disillusion that awaits ye? Behold ye not the peril in

which ye dwell? See ye it not? For he whom but yesterday ye saw on the pinnacle, to-day is in the torment! And is it not evident wherefore he hath endured so long a persecution? What seek ye then? What hope is yours?' (47) Men looked at each other, wondering whose turn would come next. And in his cell, Antonio Perez knew as he lay awake, restless with anxiety, through the fevered hours, that his doom was final. Yet he kept his judgement clear throughout, as is evident from the autograph letter (48) that he wrote to his wife on the very night following his terrible experience. And almost at once he began to plan. He pleaded his broken health and helplessness—his left arm was useless for the time being—as an excuse to have his servants sent to him. The doctor Torres, who had been called in to see him, gave support to this prayer by stating that the patient was dangerously ill and in a high fever. On March 2nd, accordingly, a page chosen by the prisoner's wife was allowed to come and attend to his wants.

As Perez grew no better, Juana Coello, who was never deterred by rebuffs, at length obtained leave to visit him before he died. Perez was seemingly at his last gasp. It was part of his plan of escape to appear worse than he was. At nightfall, on Ash Wednesday, April 18th, 1590, disguised in a cloak of his wife's (49), Perez walked unmolested past his guards and out of his prison, whilst his heroic wife took his place within. In the tortuous alley behind the palace a friend awaited him, as arranged. Whilst the two were hurrying through the pitch-dark streets, they fell in with the watchmen on their rounds. Perez, like a servant who knew his place, fell back respectfully; his friend, however, exchanged a few remarks with the men, who passed on unsuspectingly. And a few seconds after, the fugitives reached the trysting-place where Gil de Mesa was waiting with horses ready saddled. He and Mayorini, a Genoese, helped Perez to mount, and without drawing rein the three galloped the thirty Spanish leagues that

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separated them from the comparatively free soil of Aragón (50).

The news of Antonio Perez's escape was received with ill-concealed satisfaction by every one but his enemies. The court fool, indeed, seems to have voiced public opinion, when, on the morrow of the flight, he entered the King's room with the observation: 'Your Highness, who is this Antonio Perez? Since every one is pleased that he has escaped and won his freedom, he cannot have been much to blame. Rejoice too, O King!' History does not record the King's reception of this remark. But his vengeance befell Juana Coello. Before she could escape (51), she was seized by the King's officers and thrown with her children, that 'nido de golondrinas', into the public prison, where for nine years they languished in want and hardship, driven to such shifts as putting up to auction Gregoria's thimble, and the very clothes from their backs, in order to obtain a little money.

V

ANTONIO PEREZ had no intention of fleeing from Spain without attempting to vindicate himself; he owed so much to his future and to the liberties of his wife and children. This was why he sought shelter in Aragón, whose *fueros* he was prepared to invoke. As he set foot on what he thought the sacred soil, he knelt and kissed the ground, crying out in relief 'Aragón! Aragón!', so full of alarms had his wild ride been. And even yet his safety was not assured. In order to give currency to a rumour that Juana Coello had escaped to Aragón, he rode woman-fashion to the house of an uncle of Gil de Mesa. But the uncle had died that same day and the fugitives were forced to change their plans. They went on to the Monasterio de Piedra and thence to Calatayud, where Perez had relatives who gave him hospitality. His whereabouts were, however, soon dis-

covered by those on his track, and he only escaped his enemies by running out through an opportune back door to the monastery of Saint Peter Martyr, whence, after a few days' rest, he wrote to the King a disarming letter, comparing himself, with regard to Philip, to clay in the potter's hands (52). This letter, as well as one to Diego de Chaves and to the Cardinal of Toledo, remained unanswered. It was not Philip's wish that Perez should live with his family unmolested in a corner, as he craved leave to do. Perez had outwitted the King by escaping to Aragón, and the King's implacable hatred followed him there. The story of the two succeeding years is one of check and countercheck (53). The King had against him not merely the personal ability of Perez, but a whole country in arms to defend its liberties. Philip's officials were at a disadvantage: they could not act freely, but were hampered at every turn by the laws of the land, and by the susceptibilities of the *Justicia*, jealous of its ancient rights

(54). Perez, on the other hand, was amongst friends: of Aragonese descent himself, he could claim the privileges that were his. Moreover, his arrival in Aragón coincided with a keenness on the part of the Aragonese to defend their *fueros*, which they suspected were threatened by Philip's efforts to disregard the clause stipulating for the appointment of an Aragonese as viceroy, and to choose his own nominee. His deputy, Iñigo de Mendoza, Marqués de Almenara, whom he had sent to Saragossa to pave his way to this end, was already none too popular, and his position later—as instigator of the proceedings against Perez—was a distinctly unenviable one. And the innate tendency of things was indicated by the results of the King's first move. No sooner was his attempt to arrest Perez in the monastery known, than all Calatayud swarmed up to the gates of Saint Peter Martyr—conspicuous in the crowd were the students, with pistols ill-concealed under their cloaks—vowing to rescue the prisoner (55).

But Perez knew better than to trust his cause to the impulses of a disorderly mob. His safety lay in having the law on his side. Accordingly when Juan de Lanuza, the *Justicia Mayor*, galloped up with his five lieutenants and claimed Perez from the King's men by the right of *manifestacion*, which the prisoner had invoked, it was without much misgiving that Perez allowed himself to be taken to Saragossa. There he was imprisoned in the *Cárcel de Manifestados* to await the ruling of the tribunal on the three charges brought against him by the King. In these charges Perez was accused, firstly, of murdering Escovedo and of involving the King in the murder, secondly, of tampering with public dispatches, and thirdly, of breaking his prison at Madrid. Perez now made one more direct—and ineffectual—attempt to conciliate the King (56). On June 10th, 1590, he entrusted to the Prior de Gotor a dignified and restrained letter from himself to Philip (57), with copies of the letters which he had contrived to keep, and which

contained evidence sufficient to convict the King of complicity in the murder, and to absolve Perez on the second charge. But the King of Spain could not be browbeaten by one of his subjects, and his attitude was manifest by his edict of July 1590, which condemned Perez to a shameful death.

Perez, constituting himself his own advocate, now drew up the famous *Memorial del hecho de su causa*, which he had printed and bound for circulation among the members of the Court. The King, fearful of suffering an ignominious defeat, withdrew his charges, reserving the right, however, of renewing them at a more fitting season and before a less impartial tribunal. This did not mean a cessation of the prosecution. Philip's agents were to see to that, and in the month of October 1590 the Marqués de Almenara laid at Perez's door the deaths of Pedro Era and of Rodrigo Morgado. This charge was disproved by medical evidence that the two men had died

natural deaths. Simultaneously, the marqués instituted against Perez the same official inquiry which in Castile had proved his venality (58).

Now the *fueros* of Aragón exempted from their privileges any official or servant of the King. This exception Perez explains in his *Relaciones* as a concession made to one of the first kings of Aragón, who, dismayed at his curtailed powers, cried out: 'What control have I then over my own officials and servants?' And he was made answer: 'With your own officials and servants do what you will' (59). Perez's first line of defence, therefore, was to prove that he had never served the King in an official capacity in Aragón. This Philip sought to circumvent by maintaining that Sicily formed part of the kingdom of Aragón, and that Perez, as protonotary of Sicily, was subject to his supreme jurisdiction. In this way it was hoped to obtain a *revocacion* of the *firma* which Perez held. The matter was decided against the royal contention, and Perez scored an-

other point by protesting, not unreasonably, that since he had been judged, condemned, and punished in Castile, he could hardly be judged, condemned, and punished again in Aragón for the same thing.

These two cases dragged on until May 1591. Meanwhile both sides were active: the King's party devising plans for getting Perez out of Aragón into their own hands again, Perez's friends keeping public interest awake in his cause. Perez communicated freely with them: he had his meals cooked at a neighbouring house and brought in to him by a youth who proved useful as messenger. Moreover, the subtle charm which Perez exercised on his *entourage* won over the most incorruptible guards, and the Marqués de Almenara's tact was continually in requisition to suggest to the *Justicia* that Perez's gaolers were not to be trusted, whilst the Government was called upon to pay for repairing and strengthening the prison walls and floors. The elusive movements of the *caballeros de la libertad*—as

Perez's supporters were called—were another source of trouble to the marqués, who could never be certain whether they were—or were not—in Saragossa. Of one, Diego de Heredia, the marqués writes to the King, 'Don Diego leads a life such that we can never tell whether he is in Bárboles or in Saragossa. He goes to and fro at night at hours when no one is about to see him' (60). Under the circumstances it is scarcely astonishing that towards the end of March 1591 the marqués should have secured Perez's being put in irons. At much the same time the King's party, uneasy at the trend of things, sought to call in the help of that all-powerful body, the Holy Inquisition. On the grounds of a few idle exclamations of Perez's and his intention of going to Béarn—the land of heretics—the Supreme Inquisition sent to the Holy Office of Saragossa an order for his arrest. On May 24th, 1591, the lieutenants responsible for the surety of Perez in the *Cárcel de Manifestados* were ordered to deliver up their prisoner within three hours

under pain of excommunication. And shortly after, Antonio Perez, with the Genoese Mayorini, who had shared his prison since their arrival in Aragón, was lodged in the prison of the Aljafería, the Inquisition's head-quarters. The inquisitors had not long to congratulate themselves on the ease and speed with which the transfer had been accomplished. As they were conferring together at about 12 o'clock of the same day, an urgent message reached them from the Archbishop of Saragossa, Andrés de Bobadilla y Cabrera, warning them that the city was in an uproar and that Perez's release only would prevent murder and incendiarism. A mob, from two to three thousand strong, clamouring at the doors and threatening to break through by force, lent point to the archbishop's words. But the inquisitors were very much against giving up Perez. For three hours they debated, whilst the Marqués de Almenara's house was surrounded by another crowd, its gates were forced, and a rush of men with bared

swords convinced the *Justicia Mayor* that the only means of saving the marqués's life—since he refused to flee (61)—was to make him a prisoner. But the tumult was such that not even the authority of the *Justicia* was respected: he was carried off his feet by the crowd, and the marqués, left with only Francisco Torralva to guard him, was repeatedly wounded, and died a fortnight later in the public prison. The ringing of the tocsin, the great barrels of pitch rolled up to the walls of the inquisitorial palace, and a third and peremptory note from the archbishop (62), convinced the inquisitors that the only course open to them was to accept the viceroy's offer to restore Antonio Perez to the *Cárcel de los Manifestados.* 'The viceroy came down with Antonio Perez. He was hailed by the populace with a terrific shout of joy enough to rend the heavens. They set him in a carriage with the viceroy and the two counts, who themselves begged him to appear satisfied—so that the crowd should calm down—to show himself, and

to let himself be touched. Touched, I say, because all those who could, caught at his hands, pressing and kissing them, to show the general feeling of congratulation and goodwill. The crowd asked that he should ride on horseback that they might see him completely: they could hardly believe that they had got him. They shouted, "Long live Freedom! Long live Antonio Perez!"' (63). And in this triumphant fashion Perez was restored to his jail.

VI

THE contravention of her *fueros* had roused to burning pitch the feelings of Aragón against Castile. It was publicly said that the Inquisition had only been established in Aragón for a limited time, which had now expired, and that, in any case, the inquisitors should be Aragonese, and not Castilians, who were all traitors (64). But if the unruly elements of the crowd hooting outside the prison of the Marqués de Almenara felt the elation of success, Perez himself had no such illusions. The *Justicia* as a body had shown weakness in allowing the right of *manifestacion* to be overruled; unless it stood firm when the Inquisition made a second attempt—as it undoubtedly would—Perez was lost. The populace might shout for their liberties, but, if it came to a struggle with arms against the King, Aragón would come off badly. Fully conscious of this,

Perez's supporters were inclined to advise a compromise, whilst the rulers of the kingdom seemed not adverse to a friendly adjustment, which, though it might infringe the spirit of the *fueros*, would hold to the letter of them. Yet the blacker things looked for Perez, the more loyally his real friends stood by him. Amongst these Martin de Lanuza and Diego de Heredia were perhaps the most active, whilst Gil de Mesa appears to have been particularly successful in canvassing the working class. Nor did Perez, although ill and suffering, leave all the work to others; with the help of the Latin schoolmaster Basante (who was presently to play the traitor) and the Saragossan poet, Cosme Pariente, pamphlets were composed in his prison cell and circulated broadcast (65).

Meanwhile the web of the Inquisition was closing round Perez. On August 17th, 1591, the *Justicia* received a fresh order for Perez's arrest and transfer to the Aljafería, and, whereas the rulers of Aragón had on the former occasion merely suffered the

betrayal of their rights, this time they connived with the King's party to hoodwink the people. A meeting of the nobles was summoned at the viceroy's palace; notaries and lawyers appeared to prove that by the removal of Perez to the inquisitionary prisons, the *manifestacion*, which was his, would be suspended only, and that the *fueros* would thus in point of fact be intact. It was noticeable that Perez's friends were absent from the assembly, and the feeling of the people was evident from the cries of '*Libertad! Libertad!*' which echoed from the market-place, and punctuated the speeches (66). An attempt to call together some of the working class met with very little success (67). The *labradores* were not to be as easily beguiled as the nobles, and, as the Government dared not risk a repetition of the proceedings of May 24th, a halt had to be called. This apparent indecision on the part of the King led to greater licence and unruliness. The peasants gathered in little groups in the streets,

openly showing their disaffection, and on the night of May 20, indifferent to the guards, shouted outside Perez's prison: 'Señor Antonio Perez, have no fears; the Inquisition shall not have you, even if it costs us our lives'. Diego de Heredia, the elusive *caballero*, protested vehemently and publicly against the meetings which had taken place at the viceroy's palace: threatening notes were sent to members of the governing body and to the inquisitors, and revolutionary manifestoes circulated. With inadequate forces at their command the King's men were powerless, so they appealed to Philip to send out troops. The King, who had a twofold object in view—the reduction of Aragón and the undoing of Perez—sent an army under Alonso de Vargas, and in order to prevent the murder of his emissaries then in Saragossa, it was given out that the army was marching to France and would pass through Aragón on its way. Perez had little doubt as to the real objective of the troops. Flight, if he

could compass it, seemed to him now the wisest course. With a pair of scissors he scraped away at the bars of his cell until he had made an opening large enough to pass through, and he was preparing to let himself down with a hempen rope, when on September 9th his plans were betrayed(68). He was immediately removed to a more secure cell, whilst his guards were changed and their number increased. All possibility of his escaping thus at an end, Perez waited, according to his own statement, under the protection of God alone.

On September 24th another effort was made to take Perez to the prisons of the Inquisition. A strong force of six hundred arquebusiers, headed by the Counts of Sástago, Aranda y Morata, and representatives from the *Justicia*, marched to the *Cárcel de los Manifestados* to fetch Perez. Ominous signs attended their progress, crowds gathered rapidly and stones were thrown in the market-place. Arrived at the prison, 'they sent for Antonio Perez and the Governor of the prison . . . Antonio

Perez came down, and as all stood in order of rank, the ceremony of delivering up his person was gone through. The lieutenant alone spoke [saying] that the Inquisitors asked in writing for the persons here present on matters concerning their faith, and that—whilst the right of *Manifestacion* was suspended—the prisoners were delivered into their hands.' The prisoner's retort was brief: 'Where were his rights of *Manifestacion* and his privileges, and the right to be heard before he was judged, and all Laws Natural and Divine?' The reply was: 'There was nothing to be done, all possible pleas and acts had been made in his name and in the name of others' (69). The same form having been observed with Mayorini, both he and Perez were put into fetters, and the coaches which were to take them away drew up to the prison gates. But before the prisoners could be brought down the city was swept by an angry populace, under Martin de Lanuza and Gil de Mesa, which bore down on the prison, broke the gates, and, forcing its way in,

triumphantly carried off Perez, while his would-be gaolers only saved their lives by climbing out on to the roofs. 'In the evening of September 24th, after being left by the people at the house of Diego de Heredia, Antonio Perez took horses and with Gil de Mesa and a friend and two lackeys—as they are called in Aragón—left Saragossa publicly: for half a quarter of a league there accompanied him from that great multitude a host of people, shouting out blessings and prayers for a good journey and his safety. He travelled nine leagues towards Las Cinco Villas. There he parted from the friend and the lackeys and hid with Gil de Mesa in the mountains. . . . Three days he remained in them with no water to drink, but only red wine—which he had chanced to take with him and which lasted the time—and nothing to eat but bread. At night he wandered in search of water, for in the daytime he lay hidden and quiet. There he got warning that the Governor (he who was responsible for the soldiers on September 24th and

for his [Perez's] personal safety) was following on his trail, although travelling slowly and encumbered—in a carriage on account of illness brought on indeed by the worry or by the scenes of the previous day. Antonio Perez therefore ceased to continue on that road, although he had first thought of escaping by it, and he was full of care for himself and for what he should do. In this dilemma Don Martin de Lanuza, a gentleman of Aragón, came to his rescue. . . . He sent word to Perez to return to Saragossa, [saying] that he would take care of him and would save him more easily from the midst of the city than in the mountains. Antonio Perez trusted himself to Lanuza. He returned to Saragossa on October 2nd and Don Martin came to meet him just outside the city. He entered Saragossa. They walked through its streets for some time discussing the state of affairs and [Don Martin explained] how he intended to keep him safe and help him to escape. He took Perez to his house, confiding the secret to two

friends. Food was brought up to him through the medium of one of these. By day Don Martin was abroad in the city, attending to public matters. At night he stayed with Perez, and they used to consult about what was happening. . . .' (70) As the King's army under Vargas approached, it was thought no longer safe for the fugitives to remain in Saragossa, and they went to Moniesa and thence to Plasencia, where Lanuza owned some property. Their whereabouts being betrayed by the village priest (71), they escaped into the mountains, hiding in caves and suffering innumerable hardships, until they reached Sallent on the borders of the Pyrenees; Perez took refuge in a stronghold of Lanuza's and sent Gil de Mesa to France with a letter to Henry IV's sister, Catharine of Béarn (72). On November 23rd, at ten o'clock at night, Lanuza heard that a force of three hundred men were marching towards Sallent. There was no time for delay. With the prompt action characteristic of Lanuza, guides and provisions

were ready almost immediately, and at midnight on the following day Perez set foot on French soil. The snows of the Pyrenees were kind to him, he tells us, and his companions helped him over the worst passages, spreading their cloaks on the ice and even carrying him at times (73). Two days later he arrived at Pau, and in his shepherd's disguise and under an assumed name was taken to the captain of the guards to give an account of himself. On leaving the guardhouse he fell in with Gil de Mesa, who bore from Catharine of Béarn the following message: 'Let Antonio Perez come without misgiving; under her protection he could go to and fro as he willed and arrange his affairs with full religious liberty' (74). And the constant kindness which Catharine showed Perez proved her words to have been prompted by something more than mere curiosity or political interest. Amongst Perez's faults was not that of ingratitude, as we see by his tribute to the woman whose friendly welcome must have warmed his

heart as, hunted and friendless, he arrived in a strange land. 'El acogimiento, el favor, el tratamiento, que le hizo aquella Prinçesa llegado en aquel abito grossero, y pastoril, entretanto que le remudauan (que fuera en muy pocas horas, sino lo deffiriera el mismo), y todo el tiempo, que residio çerca de aquella Prinçesa, fue de Señora Real, y de animo piadoso (75).'

VII

THIS was the end of all things for Perez. His spirit was so high that he would never have left Spain and those dear to him behind him were there the least chance of his efforts in Aragón being successful. Even after Vargas's army had entered into Saragossa on November 12, whilst the untrained troops (whose leaders, foreseeing the rout, had retired to their own estates) fell back in disorder and offered no resistance, Perez had tarried in Spain. He has been reproached with running away and leaving Aragón to her fate, when it was for him that she had imperilled those liberties which she was so soon to lose (76). Even her chosen ministers, her nobles and leaders, had fled for the simple reason that success against the King's troops was hopeless (77). Perez was well aware that Aragón's acceptance of his cause was due, not so much to devotion to

him personally, as a tribute to a principle. He happened to embody that principle just when it seemed to be threatened. Nor was the King's ruthless extirpation of Aragón's ancient liberties and his summary castigation of their representatives provoked by an outburst of personal anger: it was rather part of a deliberate plan concerned with the centralization of Spain (78). By the natural law of union, Aragón would sooner or later have lost her privileges, and, because it was sooner, Perez was made responsible for it. His friends paid the penalty of those who champion lost causes. Perez escaped with his life, but the glory of it had vanished. Henceforward he had no fixed place in the solar system of politics. Dependent on the bounty of others for his means of livelihood, he was reduced to currying favour at every turn. Adrift and without a master, his loyalty had ceased to be: he played one prince against another to serve his ends. His enjoyment of respect everywhere was transient and artificial, and to the end

of his life he was fated to beg for objects which it was not in the power of those whom he petitioned to grant.

But Perez had no glimmer of approaching disillusionment on his arrival in France. He had a definite scheme in view, and the general kindness which welcomed him seemed to augur well for its success. Spain was the enemy of France and England: Spain, as embodied in Philip II, was Perez's enemy. Perez had high credentials as Spain's Secretary of State, and although he may have felt that he was condescending in stooping to such lesser sovereigns as were at that period Elizabeth and Henry IV (79), it served his purpose to bring them together in union against Philip II, with the object of letting loose disaster upon 'the disturber of the earth'. The fulfilment of this plan would satisfy Perez's ambitions by restoring his fortunes and by crushing his persecutor. For Perez would have been more than human had he not sought to revenge himself on Philip, and if, some years after, he

may have felt qualms at his Italian confessor's rebuke that 'in respect of his desire of revenge on his hard master's part, he sinned grievously' (80), at this time he had no such scruples. Nor can he be condemned as unpatriotic, for patriotism is a thing of recent growth, where countries, as in the case of Spain, did not form one indivisible whole. We should therefore hesitate before yielding to the impulse of sharing Elizabeth's feelings, who 'could not be brought to countenance a man who offered to discover the secrets of his master' (81). However low an opinion we may entertain of Perez's private character, it is impossible not to admire his indomitable courage in facing unflinchingly the greater odds. The weapons which he used were the tongue which God gave him and his knowledge of Philip's statesmanship and designs. With these he had to fight the indecision of Henry IV, due more perhaps to the difficulties of his position than to any lack of character, and the cautious policy of Elizabeth, combined

with the distrust of himself which his position as a foreigner never failed to awaken. Penniless and a proscript then, under the ban of the Inquisition which on October 20, 1592, had burned his statue in effigy (82), and with a price set upon his head, which exposed him to the murderous attacks of any ruffian anxious to make money (83), Perez obtained a passport for England, and having dispatched Gil de Mesa thither as bearer of a letter from himself to Elizabeth, was granted in the spring of 1593 an interview by Henry IV, whose Spanish master he undertakes to be, disclaiming withal any qualifications for the post as a 'gentil bárbaro' (84). The meeting, which took place at Tours, was only a prelude to many others: for Henry IV appears to have been genuinely attached to Perez as well as anxious to retain his services. And if his bounties may have contrasted unfavourably with those of Perez's English friends, Henry IV had full justification in the state of war in which France was plunged. Towards the

end of March Perez would seem to have gained his first point, for the French king not only approved of his visiting England and warmly recommended him to Elizabeth, but sent him over with the Vidame de Chartres in the summer of 1593 (85). The Court of England was at that time divided between two policies, namely, the moderate party under Cecil, Lord Burghley, as against the impetuous methods of Lord Essex, who was all for attacking the Spaniard and routing him in his own country. With the first party Perez found no advocates. It was otherwise with Lord Essex and his friends, Anthony and Francis Bacon (86), who, besides being attracted by Perez's conversation and abilities, saw in him a possible instrument for achieving their end. Perez, lodged with the Earl of Essex at Sunbury and later in London, had in the early spring of 1594 as his 'hospes ludimagister' John Harrison, a schoolmaster of St. Paul's. And, either at Harrison's residence or at Walsingham House, long conferences took

place and Perez broached his plan of attack on the unprotected Spanish ports. Through Essex's influence Elizabeth was induced to give Perez 'an hundred pound land in fee simple, and thirty pounds in parks, which for quietness sake, and in respect of his friends, he was content to accept, without any farther contestation' (87). This statement is difficult to reconcile with Perez's words to Henry IV, that he had never received any pension or help from king or queen since he left Spain, and had lived on Essex's bounty alone (88). But this is not the sole instance of veracity being overcome by impecuniousness.

It was during this relatively peaceful period, Perez's only oasis in his wanderings as a *peregrino*, that he wrote the *Relaciones*, which were published in 1594, under the pseudonym of 'Rafael Peregrino', a happy inspiration of Perez's which afforded him play for many of his dedicatory letters. To Lord Essex he wrote: 'Rafael Peregrino, the author of this book, hath

begged me to present it to Your Excellency on his part. Your Excellency is bound to give it protection since he recommends it to you, for, in sooth, he needs must know that it lacks a godfather, choosing such an one. Perchance he hath put his trust in his name, knowing that Your Excellency is the Protector of all Pilgrims of Fortune. Perchance too, he hath been fearful for the name pilgrim, on account of the persecutors of wandering pilgrims. I assured him of your favour; and reassured him anent his fear of those latter whose idle murmurs are as hisses that ring in the ears but reach not the mind—cowardly dogs which tear at the clothes but reach not the quick. May Your Excellency not deem me a flatterer if, in order to move you to compassion, I mention so oft the word pilgrim, for albeit I know that *peregrino* touches your sense of pity, 'tis opportunity not adulation whence springs the name: let me sign myself by my own name who am your Pilgrim (89).' It was little wonder that the name *peregrino* clung to

him. Lady Rich, writing some two years later to Bacon, says, 'I would fain hear what becomes of your wandering neighbour' (90).

Strangely enough, Perez, in spite of attempts on his life in England as well as in France, found the ways of the former country more congenial to his taste, and he received Henry's repeated summons with plausible excuses and protestations of loyalty and devotion. But though these might delay the hour of departure, he could not disregard Henry's letter of April 30, 1595. His note to the Earl of Essex, written in June, reveals his grief at parting. 'It is death to me to leave thee, because to remain with thee was life to me. What have I said? Better were it for me to die than to leave thee. By dying once grief is ended, but living, grief grows. For living I die ever and dying I live ever. But even though I leave thee, I may yet live if I bear with me thy soul, once mine, but thy soul, which is mine, ah woe, I leave behind (91).' Perez also

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wrote certain curious instructions for Elizabeth: they were transcribed in French by Anthony Bacon, and some clauses which throw light on Perez's double-dealing may be given here. 'Qu'elle ne die rien du tout a personne de ma chiffre, et la correspondence secrette. Car cela n'accroist point l'appetit, ni goust des viandes, de manger devant plusieurs . . . Ce que j'ay entendu, que le secretaire Villeroy me veult avoir pour hoste, que j'essayeray d'en tirer quelque profit pour le service de sa majesté (92).' At the end of July 1595 Perez with letters of recommendation from the Earl of Essex left England: he was attended by Godfrey Alleyn, who had been appointed his secretary by Essex's generosity and Bacon's choice. From the first days of Perez's landing at Dieppe things went ill. He was met by the news of Martin de Lanuza's death (93) in Franche-Comté, which impressed him greatly, whilst the delay in receiving a sum of money that he expected added to his troubles. Not all the courtesies shown

him by the governor of the town could make him forget his cares, and his dread of assassination (94) combined to cast him into a melancholy, which grew upon him. Probably by this time the strain of the past seventeen years had left its mark indelibly on Antonio Perez's nervous system: he was physically incapable of following Lord Essex's sensible advice to remember that 'nothing is better than for a man to rejoice and to do good in his life' (95). On August 25 Perez left Dieppe for Rouen; he was escorted thither by a suitable guard, and was entertained there by M. d'Incarville, 'that gentleman attending and assisting night and day and showing the greatest demonstrations of affection, in order to reconcile him to the leaving of England for France; which however was beyond the power of any person to do, Antonio finding nothing agreeable in the absence of the Earl of Essex, and being ready to take any occasion to abandon France, if it could be done consistently with his duty to the

king' (96). The disquieting rumour that Pinilla (who had been on Perez's track at Sallent) was now in France seeking his life, and that a plot had been afoot by one Burle, a red-haired Englishman, forty years of age, fat and tall, to murder him on his way to England, decided Perez to push on to Paris, where he might hope for greater security. Escorted by M. d'Incarville and a considerable body of soldiers, he reached Paris on September 10, having halted at St. Germains, where he called on the King's sister, by whom he was most honourably entertained. That the King of France was anxious to protect his guest is evident from the proposal made to Perez to lodge him in the Bastille, but Perez preferred a private house, and he was eventually given the Duke of Mercœur's, a guard of two soldiers, and a cook in order to ensure against attempts at poisoning. A few days later, Catharine of Béarn, 'being now come to Paris, Antonio visited her on the 20th of September, and was carried by her in her coach to see a

comedy acted in one of the Colleges; which honour surprised many persons, but gave him great joy, and occasion to boast of it. But, notwithstanding all these favours, he was extremely melancholy, having had nothing given him yet but fair words and kind letters, which he knew he could not live by' (97). Meanwhile public matters were not progressing too favourably in France, where concern at the loss of towns in Picardy was changed into alarm at the news that the Count of Fuentes was soon to be strongly reinforced by Spanish troops. Material help from England was vital to Henry IV, if he wished to resist the enemy. Perez, whose interests in this respect were at one with Henry's, was summoned in November 1595 to accompany to Chauny the King, who was preparing to besiege La Fère. He was given one of the best houses in Chauny and shown every honour by Henry IV, if not by his marshals, but he was fretted by Elizabeth's inaction and by want of money. He was so short of the

latter at this time that, but for Anthony Bacon's generosity in providing garments suitable for the ceremony of investiture, he would have had to refuse the Order of the Holy Ghost conferred upon him by Henry IV, whose manifest preference for Perez, although it brought him substantial advantages such as a pension and an appointment as Privy Councillor, sowed the seeds of jealousy and mistrust in the hearts of the French. Perez's fears of Philip's designs and his desperate efforts to circumvent them are evident from his letter of November 14, 1595, to the Earl of Essex. 'Sally forth to meet the enemy. Dwell not on methods of defence, but of attack. Dwell, did I say? Rather act as befits you while you still have time. He who awaits the enemy falls conquered, the conqueror is he who attacks him. And if not, then farewell to England, farewell to France. Neither ship will I enter. That I will not, lest I perish. Sweet and seemly it is to meet death with friends in wise fight. Beware likewise of those who

believe not, or feign not to believe these matters and others like them told in the past' (98). It was about this time that rumours reached Perez's ears of an alliance between France and Spain: at this time, too, Alleyn, Perez's secretary, was discovered to have disclosed some of the private correspondence between Essex and Perez (99). Alleyn was at once recalled by Essex, who sent Sir Henry Wotton—

freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise or fear to fall; —

to Perez, informing him of his secretary's apparent faithlessness. Perez's hint of an understanding between France and Spain disquieted Essex still more, and he gave secret instructions to Sir Henry Unton, Elizabeth's ambassador in France, and to Perez, so that the letters they should write him might, without betraying collusion, force Elizabeth to depart from her policy of inactivity. And Essex's inquietude was no doubt the reason why Perez's letters to him announcing first the death of his wife

[a false report] and then his own intention of taking holy orders, met with so cold, not to say satirical an answer (100), whereas Perez, more nearly concerned than was the Earl of Essex, was distraught. His letters to Essex at this period, eloquent of the dangers of delay and his pathetic exclamations, 'O miseram fragilem meam naviculam', 'O quam ego pericliter inter hos scopulos', reveal his state of mind no less surely than did his attitude at Court, and in this crisis both Henry IV and his sister seem to have acted the part of sympathizing friends, 'he [Henry IV] carried him into his privy chamber, and after having complain'd, that he lov'd England more than France, and embrac'd and kiss'd him, *me amplectens et osculans*, said to him, "You shall live nowhere, Antonio, in more security than with me; and I desire you not to leave me"' (101). Anthony Bacon's practical sympathy showed itself in sending one of his own servants, Edward Yates, to Perez, who was then at Coucy with Sir Henry Unton and Mr.

Naunton. The latter gentleman occupied much the same post with regard to Perez as Godfrey Alleyn, and reported on February 10, 1596, to Essex as follows: '[Perez] grew daily more and more out of love with France, discontented in mind as well with the French humour in itself, which was absolutely unsuitable to and even incompatible with his own nature, as for his quick apprehensions of the dangers, in which he liv'd. This disturbance of mind had been lately accompanied with a disorder of body by a fall, which he received by walking in the frost, which confin'd him three days; but he was now well recovered in all respects, except in the ominous interpretations and presages' (102). Perez's dissatisfaction with his state was not diminished by a letter from a friend in England (perhaps Signor Basadonna), which led him to infer that Essex's affection for him was cooling (103), but if in his anger he threatened to go to Italy or Holland, since France was no longer safe for him (104), all his hopes,

set upon England, veered back to it, and he would stay himself with thoughts of Elizabeth's gracious parting with him. 'But in all this motion of his hottest humours, he continued his purpose, if the earl did not come to France, to visit his friends in England for a month at the most' (105). Perez's wish was soon to be fulfilled by the force of circumstances as much as by reason of his friendship with Essex. In view of the taking of Calais by the Archduke Albert (who was soon to marry Philip II's daughter), Elizabeth could no longer stand aloof, and in order to secure from her some definite engagement of help, Henry IV dispatched to England the Sieur de Sancy on April 10, 1596, and a few days later the Duc de Bouillon with Antonio Perez.

VIII

PEREZ's hopes had been too high and too long centred on a visit to England for him not to suffer disillusionment on its realization: there were other causes which helped to give him a disappointing welcome in this country (106). The failure of the West Indian expedition, so warmly urged by him, and the untimely death of Drake (Jan. 28, 1596), revived all Elizabeth's old prejudices against Perez, whilst Essex's mind was fixed wholly on preparations for the attack on Cadiz. Perez had hoped to meet Essex at Boulogne, but the taking of Calais had hindered this and that they met in England at all seems improbable (107). Perez found that practically his only friend in this country was Anthony Bacon. He ascribed his falling out of favour at Court to M. de Sancy's spite, and he begged the Duke of Bouillon to

let him return alone to France. It was an intolerable position for him—since he had now only the prestige which the favour of the great gave him—to feel that negotiations were going forward and that he had no share in them, and not unnaturally he was 'most desperate by apprehension of being abandoned to the malice and envy of both the courts, as well French as English' (108). Our sympathies go out to Bacon as well as to him when we read that 'Mr. Bacon protested, that he had rather be with the earl to hear the cannon; and that they would not so much trouble him, or hinder his rest, as the complaints, importunities, exclamations, discontentments, and despair of Antonio: and tho' he was advised by his physicians to retire into the country to attend his health, . . . yet he was content to stay in town, and to neglect his health, to yield Antonio some contentment, and to keep him from utter desperation' (109). But the persistence of Perez's depression outwearied even Bacon, who sought refuge from him in

Twickenham, resolved to remain there in hiding until his persecutor's departure for France (110). Perez, thus abandoned, begged Naunton to take him to his house at Cambridge, and, when this was represented to him as impossible, was insistent that Naunton should accompany him to Bath. As, however, Naunton was called away to Leicestershire, Perez perforce remained in London until the signing of an alliance on May 10, 1596, made his return to France a possibility.

Perez's stay in England had been not only unhappy to him, but prejudicial to his interests. Bacon, unused to a foreigner's impulsive utterances, had grown cautious of trusting him. And Bacon's changed attitude may have communicated itself to Essex, although his silence—broken only in September 1596 by a note as affectionate as of old—was probably as much due to preoccupation in the Cadiz venture. In this note Essex ruefully complains that all he has gained out of the attack on the Spanish port is 'the loss

of his complexion, and other advantages of person', and that in spite of his enemies he would remain at court unless he could sail to Ireland in command of a fleet (111). Antonio in a reply sent by his servant Rivet—he was suspicious of other means of delivery (112)—urges him not to go to Ireland, but to come over to France, where Henry IV would receive him with open arms. Perez's affection for Essex was apparently sincere, and he grasped at this opportunity of rendering his friend a service as well as at the chance of enjoying his companionship. In December Perez heard again from Essex, who, greatly disturbed at the shaping of events towards peace between France and Spain, commanded Perez to stir Henry IV to action: 'In England there are ships and sailors, everything that is necessary to a war at sea. But we are moved or rather impelled to all—not willingly nor naturally. You must propose. You must press. The opportunity itself invites you. The Queen is a woman and consequently

magnanimous enough, if she does not decline opportunities. It is for the King to act like a man and make opportunities when he cannot find them. If Spain is not to be invaded, let Flanders be overrun, Calais recovered, and Albert thrust into some monastery' (113).

Naunton's correspondence with Essex at this period reveals Perez as utterly discontented, suspicious, and restive. A much stronger character than Perez's might well, in his position, have been open to the same reproach. The King of France was more and more inclined to consider a treaty with Philip II. He had ratified none of his promises of preferment to Perez, who, until now, had only received of the King's bounty a small and irregularly paid pension. Perez could not disguise from himself that, whereas his regard for Essex was paramount, Essex's liking for him was as nothing beside the earl's interest in matters of state. And even Perez's tried and loyal Gil de Mesa seemed to be turning against him, up-

braiding him for his love of England and the English. No one in those days apparently made allowances for nerves, and, if ever anybody might plead guilty to them without shame, it was surely Antonio Perez.

It was upon Naunton's advice that Perez in December 1596 made to Henry IV a statement of his wishes. This statement, frank to abruptness, claimed (1) the King's grace and favour; (2) a cardinal's hat with right of inheritance by his son Gonzalo; (3) 12,000 crowns yearly income in ecclesiastical revenues; (4) that the 4,000 crowns pension at present his, besides 2,000 crowns extra, should continue to be paid regularly until such time as the yearly income should be recoverable; (5) an immediate gift of 2,000 crowns to enable him to live more suitably to his post as Councillor; (6) a guard of Swiss soldiers; (7) the release of his wife and children in the case of a treaty with Spain and the recovery of his property there (114). The Constable and the Marquis of Pisani (in

Perez's happier days French ambassador in Spain) returned his sheet of conditions to Antonio on December 27, 1596, requiring him to tone down the manner of his requests, to their matter Henry IV had made no demur. This Perez did at Rouen on January 1, 1597. At the same time, in order to have two strings to his bow, he offered, through Naunton, to make Elizabeth mistress of the kingdom of Naples, where 'he had already four garrison towns and two havens at his own disposal' (115). He asked in return for the freehold of a house in Venice where he might settle with his wife and children. Perhaps Perez hoped, even at the eleventh hour, for some tangible intervention in his affairs from England, for when M. de Villeroy and M. de Sancy came on the part of Henry IV to settle his manner of living in France, they seem to have given him considerable offence. He states 'That mons. de Villeroy and mons. de Sancy were very forward and busy to take present order for accommodating him in

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some private house, where he should live safely and quietly, and be furnished to his contentment at the full, the court being so dangerous and obvious to daily new practices against him. He had no inclination at all to hear of care, and to see those two more careful for his safety, than either they had been before, or himself was then. He told them, that he came thither called from a place, where he had *otium cum dignitate & securitate*; and if he might not find the latter in France, he knew whither to return . . . that this forwardness of theirs to thrust him into this anchorism was but to remove him as a block, that lay in the way of their peace with Spain. That they should well know, that he would be a courser, a horse of race, and not stand stabled up all the year at rack and manger' (116). The King's intimation that he should be made Councillor in a day or two soothed his pride and at the same time awoke his fears lest, when the prize was within his grasp, he should lose it by treacherous reports of his dealings

with England, and he begged Essex to call in and burn all his letters, 'especially . . . those which mr. Bacon had seized into his custody, who was often noted by him for a greedy curiosity in treasuring up other mens writings' (117). And when matters were fully confirmed, Perez still avowed to Naunton his passionate love for England, protesting that 'he had rather live there with the least part of his demands, than in France with ten times more' (118). On January 17, 1597, Perez was sworn in Councillor, but the two thousand crowns extraordinary had not materialized, if we may judge by the following extract from one of Naunton's letters to Essex: '. . . he [Perez] is taking up of a new lodging in Paris, and would be glad of some two or three hundred pounds in plate and chamber furniture, as hangings, a fair bed, and such like, to set himself out somewhat more counsellor-like than his *aiudas de costa* in this French court will yet afford him. For mine own part, I have delayed his importunity all I

could, in hope of the 2,000 crowns assigned unto him extraordinary' (119).

Perez was now a vassal of the French king's, and a certain latent fidelity in him to the master who had treated him to the best of his power ever since he had known him made him chary of revealing everything to Essex in the future as in the past. But Naunton, loyal on his side to his master, over-persuaded Antonio, even insinuating in Perez's mind doubts of Henry's trust in him. If, setting aside all question of loyalty, Perez was doing no actual harm in thus serving two masters, since England and France were then on friendly terms, the face of circumstances changed with the course of events. On March 11, 1597, the Spaniards took Amiens. Elizabeth, instead of sending reinforcements to France at once, bargained and haggled according to her wont, and Henry IV, unaided, laid siege to Amiens, which he retook on September 24, 1597. Its capitulation led the way to negotiations for peace. An understanding between

France and Spain could not in any event have been favourable to Perez: in this case his position was aggravated by Henry's knowledge of his secret correspondence with England. As early after the surrender as November 29, a rebuke from head-quarters was conveyed to Perez, to the effect that he 'had greatly misdemeaned himself of late, in writing into England, that peace between France and Spain was either already concluded, or as good' (120). This suspicion of a fall from favour is borne out by the likeable Mr. Naunton's remorse and fear lest he should have played with Perez the part of Judas (121). Perez, whose sense of truth seems to have been grievously dulled now, sent Gil de Mesa to the Constable of France with a note, in which he categorically denied communication with England (122). Thereupon followed a delightfully foreign farce described by Naunton to Essex in his letter of December 16, 1597: 'It is a just comedy to consider how all parts are played in

their scene. First, *Perez*, the subject of the interlude, plays the sick-bedrid man, and will not be known to walk so much as one day in a week within his own chamber, so dejected he finds himself both in mind and body at this unkindness. He is fain to be his own secretary, notwithstanding this faintness, and to write his mind himself; his two solicitors, *Marenco* and *Gil de Mesa*, being such demi-friends, as are like to speak one word to please him, and two to please them, to whom he sends them to complain. The king himself plays the mute, and will not be known ever once to have heard, much less to have believed, any such imputation against him, as he hath taken all this hold on. Madame professeth nothing but zeal to relieve him still, and is greatly fearful of making such a loss. The Constable, after ten days ruminating on the matter, sends him word, that he can perceive no such conceit in the king; but that he both loves and trusts him, and is most ready

to grant whatsoever he can demand . . .' (123).

At the opening of 1598 Perez abandons the attitude of a spoilt child for one of hard common sense. Realizing that nothing can now hinder the peace between Spain and France, he harries Henry IV with letters, exhorting him to bear in mind his promise of rehabilitating Juana Coello and her children. He tries, too, to get leave for his youngest son to come from Spain to France, where he may inherit his father's French fortunes. For with Naunton's departure and the signing of the treaty at Vervins (May 2, 1598), Perez's relations with Essex, and his consequent dreams of a settled estate in England, had momentarily faded away.

IX

THE fact that a great many of Perez's disappointments were partly due to an exaggerated idea of his own importance served only to embitter him, for where he was personally concerned he had lost his sense of proportion. This was the case with his expectations from the Treaty of Vervins. It had seemed to him perfectly natural that one of the stipulations on Henry's side should be the restoration to honour of his family and fortunes. He even affirms that a condition was in fact made for an exchange of free pardon between himself and the Duc d'Aumale, but that the Spanish envoys rejected it on the grounds that Perez had been condemned, not on a civil, but on a religious, charge. There seems to be no historical confirmation of Perez's statement. And it would appear inconceivable, on political grounds

alone, that Henry IV should have taken such a step (124).

The death of Philip II on September 13, 1598, awoke all Perez's hopes afresh. There were rumours afloat that Philip had left instructions to his son to reinstate Perez by giving him some post in Italy, to liberate his wife and children, and to restore his fortunes. But it was not until April 1599 that Juana Coello was released. Her children were, however, still detained in prison, and it needed Juana's efforts, Rodrigo Vasquez's downfall, and Perez's former friendship with the Marqués de Denia, Francisco Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, before they were eventually set free, and even then none of them were allowed to leave Spain. Perez, unable to see that he must be branded as a traitor by his countrymen, augured well from Philip III's clemency in Aragón, and awaited his time. The death of Queen Elizabeth (1603) and James I's desire to open negotiations with Spain seemed a heaven-sent opportunity to Perez, who had

persistently kept up relations with the English ambassadors in France. His specious tongue no doubt convinced Thomas Parry of the invaluable services that he might render as a go-between, and in February 1604 he set out for England. Already at Boulogne it was intimated to him that James had no desire to see him. Undeterred by this, 'he came as far as Canterbury, whence he made use of all kinds of offers and intreaties to obtain an audience of the king, who would not be prevailed upon to admit him, falling into such a rage upon hearing of his landing in England, that he tore his beard, and protested, that he would leave England himself, suspecting, that his council had favour'd Antonio's coming. For his majesty had an unconquerable aversion to all rebels and refugees, and had given his promise to the Spanish embassador not to receive Antonio. . . ' (125). Perez returned to France in a worse pass than when he left it. His renunciation of the French king's pension, a dramatic gesture calculated to

impress on Philip III Perez's entire loyalty to him, had left the Spaniards cold and himself in comparative poverty (126). Without going so far as to imagine that Perez was actually in want, his removals—each time to a somewhat poorer quarter—from a house opposite l'Hôtel de Bourgogne to Saint-Denis, to Saint-Lazare, to the Rue du Temple and then to the Faubourg Saint-Victor, would show the stress of circumstances. His efforts to conciliate Philip III failed with every Spanish ambassador in turn: the only concession made him was a visit from his sons Gonzalo and Rafaël. In 1608 he removed to the Rue de la Cerisaie, near the Arsenal, where he passed his days in a strangely quiet and circumscribed way. His old habit of intrigue was too much a second nature with him for him not to have all the destitutes of Fortune from Portugal, Italy, and Aragón foregathering in his house. But this was perhaps his only external distraction. In the long evening hours of solitude, when he was too feeble

to visit the few friends whom he still had left, he would compose his curious letters or plan his little gifts. It was at about this period that he wrote his *Norte de príncipes, virreyes, presidentes, consejeros, gobernadores. Y advertimientos políticos sobre lo público y particular de una monarquía, importantísimos á los tales, fundados en materia de razón de Estado y Gobierno.* This work, while it has a more didactic note than the *Cartas*, shows, none the less, the trend of Perez's politics in his old age. A reactionary, he is in favour of constitutional monarchy, the rights of the people, and peace. He has travelled far from the time when he could have said, 'Iglesia y mar y casa real'.

By the Pope's permission Perez had had an altar set up in his house, and he seems to have observed faithfully the religious offices. But as his strength declined he longed the more ardently to die in his own country. His prayer for a safe-conduct that he might submit himself to the Tribunal of the Inquisition met with

no more success than his other requests. Shortly after this last pitiful attempt of his to creep back at any cost to his country, Perez fell ill and, although devotedly nursed by Gil de Mesa and the Aragonese Manuel Don Lope (127), died on November 3, 1611, having, just before the end, dictated to Gil de Mesa a confession of faith. This confession of faith and the testimony of the priests who knew Perez in Paris were instrumental in removing, four years later, from his family the stigma of the Inquisition. Perez was buried in the Célestins, where his epitaph was still to be read in the eighteenth century.

In all the emptiness of his life, with its shams and ostentation, Perez kept the saving grace of making friends. No foreigner understood him : charmed at first by his versatility and wit, the French and English spoiled him, leading him to expect greater things than they had any intention of giving. And when his faults became apparent, his merits ceased to be noticeable

to them. As regards his own countrymen, his good and bad points stand out more definitely. In Spain itself, men died for him; his servants remained loyal to him after the experience of the Inquisitionary tribunals; while his humble friend, Gil de Mesa, kept up a lifelong devotion which rarely wavered, even on Perez's blackest days when his nerves played havoc with his temper. Abroad, the rôle he played was utterly detestable to Spaniards. No ingenious pleas of his could hide the fact that he was a traitor. Nor did the publication of the *Relaciones*, with their hostile criticism of Philip II, mitigate their opinion.

Perez is not to be judged by heroic, or by any modern, standards, but some condonation can be found for him. It is something, after all, to have contributed to the amusement and pleasure of friends in one's life and to have so ended it that thought for others was dominant in death. Perez awakens in us pity, but we feel no attraction nor trust in him. And this is

hard, for, in Spain, he undoubtedly showed courage, coolness, initiative, and energy. His entire lack of simplicity and directness, with the fact that much of the spell that he exercised over his contemporaries —in Spain particularly—originated with his charm of manner and his gracious personality, may account for our relative indifference.

X

It will commonly be found that letters whose fame reaches posterity were admired and passed round during their writer's lifetime: more, that the writer knew this fact and, consciously or unconsciously, wrote with a view to the probable circulation of his correspondence. Antonio Perez was no exception to this fairly general rule: and being by nature more artificial than most of his fellows, he allowed this circumstance to weigh with him. A considerable number of his letters were printed during Perez's stay in France, some—he tells us—by a friend anxious to show them to his acquaintances, others at the instigation of 'un gran personaje', others again at the wish of a lady. It was a delicate position for Perez, and he thought it right to plead annoyance: he soon ceased, however, to make excuses for his letters appearing in

print, and we gather that if he wished any to remain private he had to say so plainly to his correspondent.

Perez defines his letters as 'una ensalada de véras mal entendidas, de burlas mezcladas con endechas' (128). He wonders that they should be printed, 'como si mi estilo y mis disparates de cartas pueden merescer tal' (129). When a friend tells him that some of his letters are well worth reading, he observes, 'nunca tal creí de ninguna dellas' (130). Yet he would be the first to be surprised if we took him at his own valuation, for, to be quite frank, Perez delighted in composing letters. He enjoyed the mastery of language and the sense of power which his pen, his most diverting friend, gave him. He could play with words and put them to what use he chose, and for the time being he would forget his cares. Perez, too, possessed a very Latin characteristic: he knew the pleasure which an unexpected gift, however trivial, may arouse, and, whilst it was his joy to give that pleasure, the

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appreciative way in which he made the gift and the dainty phrases which accompanied it were often more delightful than the gift itself. He sends, for instance, a small box of tooth-paste to the Marquis de Pisani, begging him not to imagine that his care for his teeth springs from fear of his tongue, 'for I think'—he says—'that nature surrounded the tongue with teeth to inspire her with the dread of venturing incautiously, for at times it would be better that the tongue should be bitten and cut short rather than that she should have spoken' (131). He sends gloves to a friend with such words as these: 'I send gloves to your Lordship, a trivial gift, but Nature hath so ordered, my Lord, that those who can do but little can prove their love by small proofs. With Fortune and her slaves, things are otherwise. They show with greater gifts their love, or rather their ambition, for never was much given without a hope of much in return. Like calls for like. And therefore the smallest gifts would be the most estimable if love were

most esteemed' (132). To the King of France Antonio Perez writes: 'I entreat your Majesty and your Highness to receive this humble gift from an humble slave. My wife Joan and my sweet daughter Gregoria sent it to me. I send it to you, as safe as it is small. It is of white amber, a colour on which ladies should pride themselves; but let your Majesty note that if other gloves are usually washed in divers essences, these outrival all others, because they have been washed in torrents of tears, the natural element, my lord, of mother and daughter and brothers. May your Majesty not despise the gift for the tears, for tears are the quintessence of the soul and the scent most grateful to Heaven's nostrils; moreover, if other scents reach the human brain, tears pass by the soul of God' (133). With the gift to M. Zamet of half a dozen curious flasks, similar in workmanship to those of Turkey and Barbary, Perez says: 'To so liberal a friend, to a house so well stocked, which all who leave, leave satisfied, empty flasks

may well be sent (for in it they will soon swell out) particularly from one whom Fortune deprived of all things, save courage and gratitude' (134). It is easy to imagine with what delight Perez's friends opened his parcels—whose contents ranged from wine full of aromas from the island of Madeira and Queen's olives from Seville to the famous amber-scented gloves of Spain and Perez's own home-made prescriptions for the teeth—and then eagerly turned to read the quaintly devised letter brought by Perez's messenger.

Brilliant and various as are Perez's letters, however, they lack one essential charm: they are rarely natural. It is impossible from them to gather Perez's real mind, although certain qualities, such as gratitude, may be inferred concerning them. There are not a few letters in Rivadeneyra's collection which ask for some favour or office for a servant who has done Perez service in the past. For example, Perez writes to Henry IV: 'One who like your Majesty is so generous that

he opens his hand to give before he is solicited, will not weary of my importunity. To-day I beg a favour, small for your Highness, great for me, since it is for a most faithful Flemish servant of mine who remained in prison with my wife the night that I escaped from Philip's wrath' (135). In begging favours for others Perez was not placed at the same disadvantage as when he was forced to beg for himself. This happened frequently: sometimes the King's pension was in arrears, sometimes the King's treasurer made difficulties about paying it. In view of the great number of such 'begging' letters, we should do well to consider Perez's position before allowing ourselves to be biased against him. Perez had engaged to supply Henry IV with information about Spain, Henry IV in return had engaged to pay Perez a yearly pension. Perez may have priced his services too highly; he had undoubtedly an exaggerated sense of his own importance: but it is fair to remember that he did something to earn his pension and

doubtless thought that he had every right to all he asked for.

The most natural of letter-writers is perhaps Mme de Sévigné. We should not attempt to quote her in relation with Perez, therefore, were it not that in one respect he bears comparison with her. Both have the pleasure of the inventor. Madame de Sévigné hits upon the charming phrase 'une feuille qui chante' and cannot refrain from drawing attention to it by repeating with naïve joy: 'Oh! la jolie chose qu'une feuille qui chante.' Perez, less artless, rings the changes on a favourite expression: he is first a simple 'perro' to his correspondents, then by sheer force of repetition he becomes little more than an echo of 'perros'. As a 'perro' he would give his skin to make gloves for Lady Rich, sister of Lord Essex, and signs himself 'her ladyship's flayed dog' (136). But such whimsicalities, like the plays upon words and conceits in his letters, although arresting to a casual reader, are merely superficial. Perhaps the most

striking thing about the letters, when one gets below their artificiality, is the tragedy of Perez's life. To begin with, he seems to ignore what affection is as distinguished from amorous dalliance. Of that he has a wide experience and would imply that it has been his lot to inspire more love than he could possibly return. This may be so: as against this view he is not always chivalrously reticent in talking of his love-affairs. It was his misfortune not to be able to return his wife's unbounded devotion: his letters lead us to infer that she bored him. She is a 'matrona cristiana', a 'matrona viuda y mártir', '. . . mas que Penélope en la vida, mujer de marido; en los trabajos y peregrinaciones, mas que Ulíses', but Perez never breathes a syllable of spontaneous love for her. When Juana Coello, exasperated by her children's plight, scolds her husband for not moving in their cause, Perez, always measured and urbane, replies: 'It must indeed have seemed to you that my wanderings have lain in gardens, that my

head has rested upon beds of flowers, and I tell you that I have done nothing but go from door to door, begging for what is the bread of my soul, for favour and help to redeem those captive-lives . . .' (137). And again, 'My lady: Yours is the privilege and power, given by nature and my own fortune, as being my soul and life, to complain with reason and without it. . . . And so, lady, say and do what you will, for even should you slice me into atoms with a razor, I shall be proof against the cutting, since I am one with you' (138). A closer bond seems to exist between Perez and Gregoria. She asks her father for his portrait—small, so that she may be able to carry it about with her—and at once Perez has it made and sent to her with the device 'Invidiæ scopus, invidorum scopulus'. When the high-spirited girl, deprived of the joys of youth, threatens suicide, Perez immediately writes a somewhat sermonizing letter, recalling her to the path of duty. His grief at her death after her release from prison is evident,

although, to judges of a different race and temper, the circulation by Perez of his letter upon her death argues a strange mentality. Altogether, we get glimpses in his correspondence of a man harassed by financial difficulties and disillusioned—'many ways discontent, and utterly uncertain how to betake himself to what course, to what country' (139). He looks back upon the new world which seemed to dawn for him on arriving in France and sums up the shattering of his hopes in such heart-breaking words as 'not a thing has succeeded with me nor in any year has my fortune increased one jot . . . but rather decreased day by day', and he sees too clearly the signs of the King's declining favour 'En la sequedad. En el recato de my. En la diminucion de favores. En el olvido de las cosas offresçidas' (140). The very briefness of Perez's words adds to the gloom of the picture. On the other hand, when he forgets himself, Perez can tell an anecdote with a light and amusing touch. He lets us into the secrets of

princes, kings, and monarchs: he has walked, he tells us, on the same level with them. From his own experience, he warns us repeatedly against the perils of a prince's favour and the deep waters (*piélago*) of courts. He has a neat way of weighting a banality into an aphorism: for instance, 'El ánimo, desçendençia de Dios, puede ser grande en el chico como en el grande', 'Para pecados y pecadores son las noches', 'El amor es como carbunco que se haze luz en lo obscuro'. Such sayings abound in his *Relaciones* as well as in his letters, and were picked out and printed separately by French translators as early as 1602. He is not without flashes of wit, and upon occasion can use the branding-iron with no small skill. A strange personality, he leaves his mark on all he writes, and his letters, with their sententious aphorisms, will amply reward a leisured reader.

XI

THE period of Perez's literary activities is limited practically to the years of his exile from Spain. His first printed work in his own country was an apology (of some thirty pages) for his defence at the time of his trial in Aragón. This apology or *Memorial* was reprinted in the first known copy of the *Relaciones* as well as in the subsequent editions. It consisted of three parts. The first part contained Perez's letters to the King, to the King's Confessor, and to the Cardinal of Toledo; Perez's instructions to the Prior de Gotor; a letter from Mateo Vasquez to the King, repeating a public rumour that Perez had murdered Escovedo 'por vna muger', and urging Philip to discover the truth by all possible ways and means; and Perez's suggestions to the King for the reply to Vasquez's letter. The second part deals fully with

Juan de Escovedo and with Perez's share in the affair. The third part gives a brief account of Antonio Perez's life and imprisonments, and ends with an appeal to the judges 'to consider his cause closely and with more than Christian consideration for the extraordinary passion and violence against him so evident in it, to keep before them, as is set down here, what he has suffered for twelve years now, when every part of himself, of his wife, of his children, of his honour, and of all his possessions has undergone grievous and unheard-of wrong. And above all, let them bear in mind the words of the Holy Ghost with which this script closes. *Noli quaerere fieri iudex, nisi valeas virtute irrumpere iniquitates, ne fortè extimescas faciem Potentis'* (141).

In his last years of seclusion in Paris, Perez not only wrote copiously, but collected material for books which he was destined never to complete (142). He had, for instance, in view *Doce Memoriales* and *Doce Consejos*, the latter dealing with

the period of Charles V and Philip II. Of this project, Antonio speaks as follows: 'Mi intento en ellos es comunicar los negocios mayores que pasaron por nuestras manos y confianza de padre y hijo, mostrar el modo de tratarse y votarse en aquel consejo de Estado, por tan graves y grandes personajes con quien los dos nos criámos. Advertir la forma de consultarse al príncipe, descubrir el concierto de algunos buenos consejeros y amigos de su príncipe con el secretario consultante' (143). It would not appear that these, any more than *El conocimiento de las naciones* (144), the *Apuntamientos militares* (145), and the *Máximas Politicas de Antonio Peres Secretario de Phelipe segundo. Escritas por orden de Henrique IV rey de Francia, en 1600* (146), ever existed in printed form. The *Norte de Príncipes*, which has already been mentioned, was not printed until 1788 in Madrid, and was translated into French by the positivist J. M. Guardia in 1867. But the works immediately foregoing offer little interest to any but antiquarians.

Perez's literary reputation is based almost wholly upon his letters and the *Relaciones*. The date of the first impression of the latter work is uncertain. The earliest known edition bears the following title: *Pedaços de historia, ô Relaciones, assy llamadas por sus Auctores de Peregrinos. Retrato al vivo del natvral de la fortvna. La primera Relaçion contiene el discurso de las Prisiones, y Auenturas de Antonio Perez . . . desde su primera prision, hasta su salida de los Reynos de España.—Otra relaçion de lo Succedido en Caragoça de Aragon à 24. de Septiembre del año 1591.* (147) *por la Libertad de Antonio Perez, y de sus Fueros, y Iustiçia.—Contienen de mas estas Relaçiones, la Razon, y Verdad del Hecho, y del Derecho del Rey, y Reyno de Aragon, y de aquella miserable confusion del Poder, y de la Iustiçia.—De mas de esto, El Memorial, que Antonio Perez hizo del Hecho de su causa, para presentar en el Iuyzio del Tribunal del Iustiçia (que llaman de Aragon) donde respondiò llamado à el de su Rey, como Parte. Impresso en Leon.*

S. a. (148.) In spite of the place of publication being indicated on the title-page as Lyons, peculiarities of the paper and type have led some critics to believe that the book was printed in London in 1594 (149). The preliminary matter consists of a dedication to the Earl of Essex and three letters. In one of these, the printer of the book states that he had previously issued the work anonymously. Rafael Peregrino, in reply to this, informs the printer, in a somewhat long note, that the account of Perez's imprisonment is written by himself and that a brother of his, Azarias Peregrino, wrote the story of the events which occurred on September 24th and May 24th: that the similarity of the style in the two accounts is due to the fact that he and his brother are twins 'born at the same hour into this vale of tears'. Then the author gives a short *résumé* of his work: 'Es un pedazo de historia muy digno de saber de los príncipes supremos y vasallos, chicos y grandes, presentes y venideros, reinos turbados y

sosegados; y el que escribió recogida la mano, la abriera, ó extendiese despues mas aquellas verdades, nos daria, sin duda, mucho que saber á los curiosos, mucho que escarmentar á los navegantes en el piélago de las cortes de príncipes, mucho con que despertar aun á los que dellos piensan que viven mas vigilantes' (150). And the twin *peregrinos* close on a note of warning and a plea for protection addressed to the favourites of princes. The dedication to Essex reads as follows: 'To the Illustrious Earl of Essex, Senior Knight and of the Council of State of the Queen of England, Unique lord and of the Order of the Garter. There is no viaticum so safe and lasting for pilgrims as truth, for days now I have journeyed with this prop: this will be evident in what I say. Travelling through your native country in the course of my wanderings, my intention was to recommend to you as to the favourite the protection of these fragments of history (for a pilgrim has only tatters to give). Afterwards I reflected that I was

not giving to the godson a godfather of solid position, since a favourite depends on fortune and the will of others, and he who has said will and fortune has named the most shifting things of all. Moreover, that it would be an insult to Your Excellency's noble birth, to your gallant spirit and to your rare nature and great bravery—all which gifts are independent of fortune—for though some may say that we are neither praised nor belittled for our natural graces, they speak as courtiers do who esteem nothing but the favours of fortune. I look upon it from a different point of view, to wit: that the merit is due for each thing to its possessor, fortune belongs to fortune, courage and virtue to persons; these are inherent qualities, the other is external; these are solid, the other fluctuates as does the sea when calm. To Your Excellency then, to those parts which in themselves are secure in you, your natural and inborn virtues, I commend my papers' protection.' In 1598 a second edition was printed in Paris. The title-

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page has a drawing of a cell with every conceivable instrument of torture in it and a scroll above with the motto *Illvstrat, Dvm vexat.* The heading runs *Relaciones de Antonio Perez Secretario de Estado, que fue, del Rey de España Don Phelippe II deste nombre.* On the reverse of this page we read: 'Contienen estas relaçiones de Antonio Perez. La primera, vna summaria informaçion de sus prisiones, y persecuçiones, con particularidades, y copias de papeles nunca vistos, dignos de ser vistos. Otra, lo succedido en Çaragoça de Aragon à 24. de Septiembre del año de 1591. por la Libertad de Antonio Perez, y de sus Fueros, y Justiçia. La Razon, y Verdad del Hecho, y del Derecho del Rey, y Reyno de Aragon, y de aquella miserable confusion del Poder, y de la Justiçia. De mas desto el Memorial que Antonio Perez presentò del Hecho de su causa en el juyzio del Tribunal del Justiçia (que llaman de Aragon,) llamado à el de su Rey, como parte.' Then follow dedications to Henry IV and to the Pope, an address to the

general reader in which Perez explains the meaning of the devices which he affected on his seals and even on his plate and furniture (151). The first represents a minotaur, his finger on his lips, in a closed labyrinth. In the second seal the labyrinth is open, the minotaur's hand is raised triumphantly to where light seems to come down from heaven. In the closed labyrinth are the words *In spe*: the open labyrinth bears the device *Usque adhuc*. The meaning of the seals is, as one would expect it from Perez, somewhat far-fetched: he will wait in silence and in hope only so far as the day appointed for liberty. The whole thing seems very childish, even if one allows for the dramatic element so strong in Latin natures. There is a drawing of the seals above the passage entitled 'La plvma arroiada à los Curiosos'; this passage is followed again by 'Ant. Perez à los Curiosos'. Then comes a plate representing Titius torn to pieces by an eagle, with the motto *Poenâ, non caussâ*, and the following lines:

In Emblema Titii nostri Poenâ, non caussá Titii.

At meruit Titius funesti vulnera rostri,
Cuius erat tanto tantum in amore scelus.
Nil ego peccaui: nisi si peccasse fatendum est,
Suspectum nostro fortè fuisse Ioui.
Iure, vel immeritò nil refert. Iam satis hoc est.
Suspectum nostro nempe fuisse Ioui.

We now reach the substance of the *Relaciones*. Perez, after a brief account of his ancestry, plunges at once into the thick of the story, glossing over the details of the Escovedo affair, which are related in the *Memorial*. He supports his version of the facts by documentary evidence. If we allow for a certain amount of exaggeration, we shall obtain from the *Relaciones* a fairly truthful story of what really happened. But no clear picture will stand out in our mind. Perez has obscured by his preoccupation with stylistic problems the vivid presentation of historical fact. The impression left is a confused one of injustice and intrigue in which the writer fails to

convince us of his total innocence. Attention is continually diverted from the main issue by rhetorical reflexions, either on methods of Government, as for instance where Perez deplores Philip's policy in the Netherlands, or on the ill-treatment of himself and his family. Equally disturbing is Perez's foible for hyperbolical enumeration as in the following lines: 'Y assy me vengo à my Relaçion de muertes, de prisiones, de miserias, de sobresaltos, de denuestos, de vltrages, de violençias, de destroços, de ruinas, de maçeramientos, de martyrios, de testimonios, de sobornos, de conjuraçiones, de captiuerios de bibdas, de casadas, de donzellas, de niños, de mamantes, de piantes Justiçia, de Innoçentes, nasçidos, y aun por nasçer. Cosecha, y muy abundante del siglo presente' (152). Such passages abound in the *Relaciones* and are quite subversive of concentration of thought. The fact, too, that the work is written in the third person detracts from the human interest and makes it lack the detail which

sometimes gives life to memoirs not otherwise remarkable for literary excellence. Here and there, when Perez condescends to be natural, we get refreshing touches. We see in the revolt of September 24th the deputies scrambling over the roofs for safety, and the Governor only escaping with his life by hiding in a stable 'behind some pigs, which saved him, for when men looked for him, they missed seeing him amongst the pigs'. We realize Perez's delight at the burning of the coach drawn by four mules, which was to take him to the Aljafería. This four-muled coach figures more than once in the accounts sent to the Inquisition, its owner clamouring for payment. Prominent also is the figure of the ragged fruit vendor, selling her poor wares under Antonio's prison-windows and every day providing him with fruit, who 'came with a little dish of fruit under which were concealed ten reales and stealthily she handed it with her own hand to Antonio Perez, without his knowing that he was receiving anything more than

the fruit'. But such touches are rare and not characteristic of Perez. His are the qualities of the orator, as is seen by his repetition with slight variations of the same phrases, his lucid summing-up of his divers sentences and his turgid outbursts of eloquence.

It is less astonishing than it would at first seem, to find comparatively no traces of Perez's influence on the literatures of the countries which he visited, if we bear in mind that Perez was concerned with politicians, not with men of letters. Major Martin Hume in his book, *Spanish Influence on English Literature*, draws an ingenious comparison between Perez and Don Adriano Armado in *Love's Labour Lost* (153). He quotes in illustration the speech of Holofernes '. . . his humour is lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestical, and his general behaviour vain, ridiculous, and thrasonical. He is too picked, too spruce, too affected, too odd, as it were, too peregrinate, as I may call it' (154).

This coincidence is happy, but, as it proves nothing, carries the argument no farther (155). French critics of the older and past school, such as Puibusque (156), were inclined to overrate Perez's influence on the Spanish trend of French literature in the early seventeenth century. It was enough that Corneille should borrow from Castro and from Ruiz de Alarcon. It was enough that before him Rotrou should borrow from Mira de Amescua. To the statement that preciosity owes something to Perez personally, it may be answered that the movement was a general one all over Europe. It is possible that from his association with the Marquis de Pisani, Perez may have remotely originated certain mannerisms of the Hôtel de Rambouillet through the Marquise's daughter, Catherine de Vivonne. A comparison, for example, might be drawn between the fashion for nicknames and anagrams, characteristic of the Hôtel de Rambouillet's devotees and Perez's addiction to grotesque names, as when, in his

correspondence with Essex, he speaks of Elizabeth as Juno and of Philip as Nebuchadnezzar. But this is a trifling matter. Moreover, nicknaming was not an invention of Perez's, but seems to have been current in Spain at the period (157). On the whole the tendency of modern critics is to estimate the supposed influence of Perez as practically non-existent for our purpose. This is not surprising when one watches and sees how much is lost in the best of translations. M. Morel-Fatio (158) does indeed cautiously throw out a hint as to Voiture's conceivable debt to Perez, as seen in the French writer's alembicated letters. The art of letter-writing is an individual gift and, being essentially personal, is little open to external influence. Consequently writers whose literary reputation rests chiefly on their letters seldom owe much to others, save those with whom they are in correspondence.

Among his own countrymen, however, Perez could count on at least one admirer

in the generation next his own. This was Baltasar Gracian y Morales. Gracian in *El Discreto* (159) alludes to Perez as 'nuestro Anfion Aragones' and 'aquel prodigioso Ingenio'. In *La Agvdeza y Arte de Ingenio* (160), Gracian, quoting Perez's letter to Catherine of Béarn, says: 'I have always laid stress on the fact that conceptism is the essence of style. Prominence in this matter has brought into such repute the letters of Antonio Perez, as favoured by fame as he was persecuted by fate.'

NOTES

(1) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii. *Primeras Cartas de Antonio Perez*, carta 1era, p. 463.

(2) *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. xiii, pp. 389–93.

(3) The first Marqués de Pidal in his *Historia de las alteraciones de Aragon* (Madrid, 1862–3), vol. i, p. 286 n., gives the date of Perez's birth as 1534; other authorities give 1539 and 1540, whilst Fernandez de Navarrete fixes it at 1549. See his *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1819), p. 567. There has also been some discussion as to Perez's birthplace, arising probably from the statement that he was 'oriundo de Aragon', but there seems little doubt that he was born at Madrid. See Álvarez Baena, *Hijos de Madrid, Ilustres en Santidad, Dignidades, Armas, Ciencias y Artes. Diccionario Histórico por el orden alfabético de sus nombres* (Madrid, 1789–91), vol. i, p. 121.

(4) *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xiii, *Breve noticia de Gonzalo Perez*, pp. 531–49; M. Gomez Uriel, *Bibliotecas antigua y nueva de*

escritores aragoneses de Latassa (Zaragoza, 1885), vol. ii, pp. 523–5.

(5) *Relaciones de Antonio Perez* (Paris, 1598), p. 290, n. 1.

(6) *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xiii, p. 541.

(7) G. Muro, *Vida de la Princesa de Éboli* (Madrid, 1877). Adicion, pp. 6, 7.

(8) '. . . Gonçalo Perez tenia vn hijo . . . embuelto siempre desde su niñez entre lo mejor, y mas granado de las Cortes, y Prouinçias por donde anduuo . . .' *Relaciones de A. P.*, p. 290, n. 1.

(9) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Segundas Cartas de A. P.*, carta cxlvii, p. 553.

(10) Henry Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (London, 1907), vol. iv, p. 254; P. J. Pidal, *Historia de las Alteraciones de Aragon en el reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1862), p. 289, n.

(11) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Segundas Cartas de A. P.*, carta xxxi, p. 501. *See also* A. González Palencia, *Fragmentos del Archivo particular de A. P., secretario de Felipe II*, in *Revista de Archivos, etc.* (1918), vol. xxxix, pp. 357–9.

(12) *Idem*, carta xxxi, p. 502.

(13) 'Decia así el maestro Leon, que era muy mi amigo: Sr. Antonio, poned vos de

vuestra parte este libro, yo de la mia mi persona y trabajo, y me iré á Paris, y imprimeré todas estas obras, y os aseguro que nos valdrá el negocio mas de cincuenta mil escudos, y sea la ganancia á medias, demas de la mayor, que es el servicio de Dios, su gloria y la de sus sanctos, y el beneficio comun. Que allí en San Lorenzo, aunque sea grandeza de librería real, serán aquellos libros tesoro escondido debajo de tierra.' *Idem*, carta xxxi, p. 502.

(14) 'No le dio luego q̃ vacò el oficio a Antonio Perez por ser moço derramado i queria el Rey gran virtud i recogimiento en los ministros i oficiales participãtes de sus secretos'... Luis Cabrera de Cordova, *Filipe Segvndo Rey de España* (Madrid, 1619), bk. vii, ch. 7, pp. 412, 413.

(15) *Idem.*

(16) *Relaciones de A.P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 292.

(17) The date of Ruy Gomez's death is given as 1571 by P. J. Pidal. See *Alteraciones de Aragon* (Madrid, 1862), p. 289.

(18) Cervantes, the greatest figure in Spanish literature, ventured to address Vasquez as 'humilde privado, de ambicion desnudo' in a copy of tercets, in which he begged that an expedition should be fitted out to rescue

him and his companions from slavery in Algiers. His prayer was not listened to, but the verses were later incorporated by Cervantes in his play, *El Trato de Argel.*

(19) Ana de Mendoza y de la Cerda, daughter of the Conde de Mélito and of his wife Doña Catalina de Silva, married in 1553 the Conde Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Éboli and Duke of Pastrana.

(20) G. Muro, *Vida de la Princesa de Éboli* (Madrid, 1877), pp. 46–8.

(21) Cabrera describes Antonio Perez as 'suntuoso i curioso, en el vestir rico i odorifero, i põposo en su casa . . .' See also M. Mignet, *Antonio Perez et Philippe II* (Paris, 1881), pp. 150–2, and G. Muro, *Vida de la Princesa de Éboli* (Madrid, 1877), p. 78.

(22) *The Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge, 1904), v. iii, p. 407.

(23) The failure of the Duke of Alba's harsh measures in the Netherlands had led to his recall in 1573. Luis Requesens de Zuñiga, who had been sent to replace him, died in 1576, leaving the country still in chaos. The Spanish soldiers, who had not been paid for months, were completely out of hand, and the Lowlanders, under William of Orange, combined to drive out the lawless

soldiery. In this crisis Philip II decided to send Don John of Austria who, as partly a Fleming by birth, might gain the Netherlanders' confidence and affection.

(24) After the victory of Lepanto in 1571 and the capture of Tunis two years later, Don John of Austria's ambitions turned towards an Empire in the East, of which Tunis should be the capital. The Pope of the day supported him strongly, but Philip was mistrustful and not only refused his sanction to the scheme but withdrew Don John's secretary, Soto, whom he suspected of encouraging the Prince's plans.

(25) 'A Antonio Perez se le levantó el pecho, yo lo sé de tal propuesta' . . . Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Segundas Cartas de A. P.*, carta cxlvii, p. 551.

(26) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 284; M. Mignet, *Antonio Perez et Philippe II* (Paris, 1881), p. 72.

(27) Nicknames appear to have been freely used in Spain at this period. Perez himself was known to his enemies as *El caballero Portugués*, the Princess of Éboli was distinguished by the sobriquet of *Jezabel*, whilst she spoke of Vasquez as a *perro moro*.

(28) Ramon de Mesonero Romanos, *El Antiguo Madrid* (Madrid, 1881), vol. i, p. 171.

(29) The assassins were six in number: Insausti (who dealt the blow), Juan Rubio, Miguel Bosque, Diego Martinez, Juan de Mesa, and Antonio Enriquez. Of these Diego Martinez and Antonio Enriquez had both been implicated in the previous attempts at poisoning Escovedo.

(30) Philip's phrases in view of what occurred later are sometimes extraordinary. When Perez writes on April 3, 1578 '. . . yo hubiera habido menester verme con V. M. que me hallo solo y apretado y metido en un bravo laverinto, y se que se ha hecho cuanto se ha podido y se hará hasta perderlo todo por V. M. y por su servicio como lo hago, que será ganarlo. . .' Philip replies '. . . No os hallais muy solo pues estoy yo con vos y no os faltaré á todo lo que convenga y sea menester como es tanta razon; estad cierto de esto y bien lo sabeis . . .' See *Apéndice de Documentos*, pp. 22, 23, in P. J. Pidal, *Alteraciones de Aragon* (Madrid, 1862), t. i.

(31) Antonio Enriquez went to Naples, Juan Rubio to Milan, Insausti to Sicily—the other three accomplices took refuge in Aragón.

(32) 'El Rey, à quien por grandes consideraçiones, y differentes riesgos, y proprios no

le desplugo, que aquella muerte descargasse en otra parte, como nublado . . .' *Relaciones de A. P.*, (Paris, 1598), p. 7.

(33) '. . . Lleuo gran desgusto de todo, y solo por consuelo auer huydo el rostro con my absençia al Odio, que la Corte contra my tiene. Y crea V. M. que no esta para suffrirla ningun hombre de bien. Porque sin el fauor del Rey os pisaran todos, y con el os quitaran la vida, y la honrra sin que os podays valer . . .' *Ibid.*, p. 18.

(34) Perhaps he thought of the parallel cases of Alfonso X *El Sabio* who strangled his brother Fadrique, and Alfonso XI who put to death Juan *El Tuerto*.

(35) This insult was written on a paper which Vasquez handed with some state papers to Perez's secretary, Diego de Fuerza, who had been sent from the Escorial to bring the documents to Perez.

(36) Philip's change of attitude towards Perez and his almost rancorous persecution of the Princess of Éboli would be easily explainable if there existed definite proof of his having ever loved the lady. But we have only Antonio Perez's word for it.

(37) This circumstance may or may not be significant, but as it lends colour to Perez's

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version of the Princess of Éboli's refusal of the King's advances, it may be as well to mention it here.

(38) L.-P. Gachard, *Don Carlos et Philippe II* (Paris, 1867), p. 227.

(39) In the spring of 1580 the Princess of Éboli was transferred from the Fortress of Pinto (which was unsuitable for winter quarters) to that of San Torcaz. San Torcaz was nearer to Pastrana, thus enabling the Princess to supervise the management of her estates. A long and dangerous illness led to her being removed in 1581 to her home at Pastrana. She remained a prisoner there until her death in 1592.

(40) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 35.

(41) Ramon de Mesonero Romanos, *El Antiguo Madrid* (Madrid, 1881), vol i, p. 206.

(42) It may seem that too much stress was laid on a reconciliation between Perez and Vasquez. But it must be remembered that both parties were not above murdering each other: Vasquez had received letters threatening him with death, and Perez was reported as being always accompanied by a bodyguard when he left his house.

(43) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 35.

(44) '. . . hombre frio y maligno, aunque con apariencias de suavidad y dulzura; llamábanle en la corte, por esta causa, *ajo confitado*'. P. J. Pidal, *Alteraciones de Aragon* (Madrid, 1862), vol. i, p. 351.

(45) G. Muro, *Vida de la Princesa de Éboli* (Madrid, 1877), *Apéndices*, p. 172.

(45*) '. . . le advierto segun lo que yo entiendo de las leyes, que el Prinçipe seglar, que tiene poder sobre la vida de sus subditos, y vassallos, como se la puede quitar por justa causa, y por juyzio formado, lo puede hazer sin el, teniendo testigos, y quando el tenga alguna culpa en proçeder sin orden, no la tiene el vassallo, que por su mandado matasse à otro, que tambien fuere vassallo suyo, porque se ha de pensar que lo manda con justa causa, como el derecho presume, que la ay en todas las actiones del Prinçipe supremo; y sino ay culpa, no puede hauer pena, ni castigo. De donde coligirà V. M. que si en el caso presente se declara la verdad, no se condena nadie, antes se manifiesta la innoçençia de V. M. y sus compliçes . . . Y con manifestar la verdad se sanean estos daños, y se acaba el negoçio . . .' *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), pp. 65–6.

(46) *Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid, 1845), vol. xv, pp. 533–47.

(47) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), pp. 74–5.

(48) A. González Palencia, *Fragmentos del Archivo particular de Antonio Pérez, secretario de Felipe II*, in *Revista de Archivos, etc.* (1921), vol. xlii, pp. 297–302.

(49) Basante, the schoolmaster in Latin who helped Perez to draw up his pasquinades, says in his betrayal of Perez that the locks were removed from an inner door, and does not mention the foregoing version. P. J. Pidal, *Alteraciones de Aragon* (Madrid, 1862), vol. i, pp. 377–8.

(50) Aragón still retained its old privileges as befitted a part of the kingdom which considered itself separate. The very form of its oath of allegiance explained its loyalty: 'Nos que valemos tanto como vos os hazemos nuestro Rey y Señor con tal que nos guardeys nuestros fueros y libertades y sino No!' It would have none but an Aragonese for its viceroy, and its court of justice was ruled by wise and liberal formulae. It could protect a claimant against even the King or the Inquisition by granting him a *manifestacion*. The plaintiffs were then bound to produce the prisoner before the court, when he was either allowed bail or shut up in the *Cárcel*

de Manifestados, from which no one could take him without the authorization of the *Justicia Mayor*, the chief magistrate of the special tribunal of five judges or lieutenants. These were all appointed by the King, and the *Justicia* was irremovable. Any one could obtain a *manifestacion* by complaining to the tribunal that he was threatened with violence. A further safeguard for the prisoner was the *firma*, a decree by which all proceedings against his rights, person, and goods were stopped. The *firma* thus protected the prisoner without interfering with the course of justice. If all the formalities of the *fueros* or laws had not been complied with in obtaining the *firma*, a *revocacion* or annulment of it could be procured by the plaintiff.

(51) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 79.

(52) 'Viendo quan à la larga acabo de tantos años yuan mis prisiones, y el rigor de algunos ministros, ô sea de la Inuidia, sin valer my persona para meresçer tanta, como ha padesçido, y que my causa, y miserias no tenian aun señal de fin, sino solo la vida, y lo de mas: y que el proçeder de los ministros me tenian reduzido à no poder responder por my, ny por la honrra de mis padres, y hijos, y mia (obligaçion natural, y Christiana) me

resolui à hazer lo que he hecho, y venir me à este Reyno de V. Magestad, naturaleza de mis padres, y abuelos: pues en el es, y serà V. Magestad tan Señor de my todo, como en medio de los grillos, y cadenas mas fuertes, y yo tan obediente à su Real voluntad, como el barro en la mano de su Hollero; de que tengo dado buen testimonio, y prueua con el largo suffrimiento, fundado en la esperança, que he tenido siempre en V. Magestad, y en su gran Christiandad, y misericordia, y en el deposito, que tengo en su Real pecho de my innoçençia, que en solo este estado, y nõbre dexo ya mis pequeños seruiçios, y fidelidades, aunque en otro subjecto, y ventura pudieran llegar à meritos differentes de los que en my han causado. Yo supplico à V. Magestad muy humilmente, que pues tiene tanta prueua desta verdad, y notiçia de la passion de algunos, ò algun ministro por sus consultas y traças, crea V. Magestad el entrego, y possession, que le doy desta persona, y animo à su obediençia, y Real voluntad en todo; y que no permita, que la passion de los que digo, passe adelante en offensa de su gran Christiandad, y seruiçio, y en escarmiento de fieles vassallos. Tambien supplico à V. Magestad por su gran piedad mande

mirar por essa muger, y hijos, y nietos de padres, y abuelos fieles, y prouados de V. Magestad, y que por quien V. Magestad es, se sirua que biuamos en vn rincon, el que V. Magestad fuere seruido, que sera rogando à Dios, quando para mas no valgamos, por la larga vida y prosperidad de V. Magestad, à quien el la de muy cumplida en todo, como la Christiandad lo ha menester. De San Pedro Martyr de Calatayud à 14 de Abril de 1590 años.' *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), pp. 241-2.

(53) 'Felipe II no sabia retroceder en un camino emprendido, y por salir con su intento no siempre reparaba lo bastante en los medios . . . Todo lo puso en juego para castigar la deslealtad de Perez y traerle á Castilla bajo su absoluta disposicion: los medios legales, su gran influjo personal, los halagos, las amenazas, las recompensas, los castigos, lo lícito y lo ilícito . . . El enojo y la pasion se descubren en todas sus gestiones y predominan en todas las escenas de este drama singular . . . Todo se reunia así contra Perez, y es uno de los espectáculos de mas interés de aquel reinado el ver por qué medios y con qué recursos supo contrarrestar aquel ministro caido tan grande máquina y

batería. Perez se presenta en esta tan desigual contienda como un hombre de grandes recursos, y si su carácter y acciones no pueden nunca inspirarnos aquel interés, que en otro caso inspirarian siempre sus desgracias, no podemos menos de admirar su valor, su perseverancia, su sagacidad y su elocuencia. Desde el fondo de su prision interesó en su favor los generosos sentimientos de los aragoneses; supo adivinar los elementos de defensa que podia hallar en Aragon; enlazó estrechamente su causa con la de los fueros y libertades de aquel país, que los creia amenazados; reunió todos los elementos que por causas generales ó especiales habia allí de oposición contra Castilla, y cuando los recursos legales no le bastaron, apeló á las armas, lidió con el mismo Felipe II, y aunque dejando tras de sí la desolacion de un reino entero y la ruina de sus imprudentes defensores, él logró su libertad y se evadió de las manos de su poderoso adversario.

'Su conducta desde su entrada en Aragón es un modelo de actividad, de constancia y cordura.' P. J. Pidal, *Alteraciones de Aragon* (Madrid, 1862), vol. i, pp. 414-16.

(54) '. . . Yo he mostrado á los jueces no

contentarme de lo proveido y voy procurando todavía se le pongan prisiones y se le añadan mas guardas. Bien será que V. M. se lo torne á mandar así con ocasion de haberse visto allá la culpa que contra él resulta de la fraccion de la cárcel y de quererse ir á Bearne; pero esto sea con palabras blandas y aun de algun agradecimiento de lo que se ha hecho . . .' *Carta original del Marqués de Almenara á Felipe II.* Zaragoza 20 de enero 1591 in *Documentos Inéditos* (Madrid, 1848), vol. xii, p. 96.

(55) '. . . Sacaron le del monasterio con notable escandalo, y con mucho riesgo de turbar se la Çiudad toda, porque toda, y todos estados de gentes estauan en arma, hasta los saçerdotes, y estudiantes muchos con sus pistoletes debaxo de los manteos . . .' *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 91.

(56) This was Perez's third attempt: he wrote to Philip a second time on May 1st.

(57) 'Señor. He escrito à V. Magestad por dos cartas la causa de my salida de Castilla, y venida à este Reyno, y al Confessor de V. Magestad he aduertido despues de algunas otras cosas, mas en particular por lo que deuo à su Real serviçio, y aunque entiendo que

el aurà dado à V. Magestad quenta de todo aquello por su obligaçion, como esta causa se va poniendo muy adelante, y en neçessidad de llegar à descargos biuos, por tratar se de la honrra de mis padres, y hijos, y mia, he querido hazer de nueuo aduertimiento à V. Magestad de lo que me paresçe, que mucho conuiene. Y por ser de la calidad que son estas materias, he procurado no fiar de papel solo la informaçion de V. Magestad sobre ellas, y tambien porque con relaçion de voz biua sea V. Magestad mejor informado; y ansy he pedido al Conde de Morata por su calidad, y estima en este Reyno, con cuyos padres, y con el tuuo el mio mucha amistad, que me encaminasse vna persona de Christiandad, y prudençia de quien poder fiar vn despacho, y commission tal. El que me ha dado para esto es el padre prior de Gotor. El lleua entendido muy en particular en la confiança de saçerdote, y visto por vista de ojos muchas de las prendas, que yo tengo para my descargo, que he hallado entre otros papeles, y cosas mias que à caso criados mios en los rebatos de la Justiçia, que han succedido en my casa los años passados, pusieron en cobro y quan llenas estan de muchas confianças, y secretos tocantes no solo à esta

materia, però à otras muchas de grande importançia, y à personas muy graues vassallos de V. Magestad. A V. Magestad supplico sea seruido de oyrle, por lo que conuiene à su Real seruiçio, y à la auctoridad de sus negoçios, que han passado por estas manos, y confiança: y verà V. Magestad, que las vezes que le he aduertido tanto tiempo ha, que se tomasse en este negoçio otro expediente, y traça del que se ha tomado vltimamente, no era por faltar le verdad à my Justiçia, pues quãdo mas no huuiera, tenia à V. Magestad por testigo, y juez della, sino por escusar (como quien sabia los sacramentos, y misterios grandes del discurso desta causa) los grandes inconvenientes, y escandalos, que de la publiçidad della se podian seguir. Y aunque puede ser que con buena intençion por algun respecto particular hayan algunos aconsejado à V. Magestad, que conuenia declarar como passò la muerte de Escouedo, como me escriuiò el Confessor de V. Magestad por dos cartas, que se hiziesse, no se sy con la misma buena intençion lo haya hecho, el que ha aconsejado, que se llegue à juyzio, y aueriguaçion de las causas, que mouieron à V. Magestad para el tal effecto, à lo menos en lo primero se yo,

que paresçiò al Confessor de V. Magestad entonçes açertado el medio, que yo le propuse de amistades para salir de lo de la muerte, y assy creo tambien, que pues aquella resoluçion, con ser tan grande, se mudò tan façilmente, deuiò de hauer particular Passion en el que aconsejò despues que se pusiesse en juyzio aquellas causas, pensando por ventura meter en dilaçiones nueuas por aquel camino my Justiçia, y el fin de mis trabajos, y que con auer me tomado mis papeles, y pedido à my muger los confidentes entre V. Magestad, y my, hauia de faltar descargo y ahogar se my Justiçia, y quedar por embuste todo, como el tal ministro dezia, y escriuia à V. Magestad. *Y supplico à V. Magestad, por aquel amor, y fidelidad, con que siempre le he seruido, que haga mirar bien à personas desapassionadas sobresto: y si conuiene, que lleguen à juyzio tales papeles de V. Magestad, y tales cartas de su Confessor, y tal variedad de juyzio, y caminos, como se han mudado en esta causa, y persona, pero que no se diffiera la resoluçion, y remedio, porque llegarà la hora del descargo, à que en ley Natural y Diuina no se puede faltar tratando se de la honrra de tantos innoçentes.* Tambien supplico à V. Magestad por quien es, y por lo

que toca à su Real auctoridad, que aduierta con su gran prudençia, que no le engañen malos consejos con sombras de my persona, que no son menester, Señor, medios tan costosos, ny de tanta desauctoridad, y escandalo para effecto tan seguro, y çierto, pues la voluntad V. Magestad, y sus mandamientos seran las verdaderas cadenas, y prisiones, como he dicho diuersas vezes, paraque yo biua en el rincon deste Reyno, que V. Magestad mandare, y me señalare, mientras no valiere algo para su seruiçio. Y que V. Magestad se sirua, que se me den my muger, y hijos, para que viuan con migo, y que reposemos todos ya vn rato de tantas miserias y tormentas, pues en ello harà V. Magestad vna piedad muy digna de su gran Christiandad, y grata à los ojos de Dios, y de las gentes. El guarde la Real persona de Vuestra Magestad, y de tan larga vida, como la Christiandad ha menester. De Çaragoça à 10. de Junio de 1590. años.' *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), pp. 252–5.

(58) The inquiry whose technical name in Castile was *visita* was called in Aragón *enquesta*.

(59) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 106.

(60) *Carta original del Marqués de Almenara á Felipe II.* Zaragoza, 13 de marzo 1591, in *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, p. 132. Bárboles was Heredia's estate outside Zaragoza.

(61) The Marqués de Almenara's reply to those who urged him to escape had been 'que no habia de huir por la vida porque ninguno de su linaje lo habia hecho.' *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, p. 160. He had previously sent a note to the Inquisitors, urging them to keep Perez in the Aljafería even at the cost of all their lives, his own included.

(62) The three notes of the Archbishop ran as follows:—

Primer Billete. La casa del Marqués estan combantiendo, y no veo otro remedio para que no peligre su persona sino que vuestras mercedes vuelval á Antonio Perez á la cárcel de los Manifestados, pues en entendiendo el pueblo lo que es se podrá tornar á cobrar. Hoy 24 de mayo 1591—A. Archiepiscopus—A los Señores inquisidores. El doctor Monreal dirá de palabra lo que yo no digo aquí—A. Archiepiscopus.

Segundo Billete. Por si el doctor Monreal no ha dado á vuestras mercedes otro que tengo

escrito, el cual holgara harto que hubieran leido vuestras mercedes y oido el doctor Monreal, torno á representar en este que este negocio no paresce que tiene otro remedio sino volver á Antonio Perez á la cárcel de los manifestados, pues mañana y siempre que vuestras mercedes quisieren le podrán volver á la suya; que como sea entendiendo el pueblo que no se les hace contrafuero como dicen los lugarestenientes que no se les hace, no habrá hombre que hable. Remítome á los Señores Condes de Morata y Aranda. Dios guarde á vuestras mercedes. Hoy 24 de mayo de 1571—A. Archiepiscopus—A los inquisidores apostólicos del reino de Aragon.

Tercer Billete. El volver á Antonio Perez es tanta fuerza como se vee. Sin mas dilacion vuestras mercedes le vuelvan con seguridad que entre en la cárcel de los Manifestados—A. Archiepiscopus Cesaraugustanus. *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, pp. 167-8.

(63) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 113.

(64) '. . . han intentado tambien el decir y publicar que la Inquisicion se admitió en el dicho reino por tiempo de cient años que son

ya cumplidos, y que no la ha de haber sino con muy limitada jurisdicion: que los inquisidores y oficiales han de ser todos naturales aragoneses, y no castellanos que son traidores y les quebrantan sus fueros y libertades.' *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, p. 181.

(65) *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, pp. 219–21.

(66) *Idem*, pp. 329–31.

(67) *Idem*, p. 331.

(68) 'El lunes á los y deste por la tarde me avisó el inquisidor Antonio Morejon . . . que Antonio Perez trataba de salirse de la cárcel, y que para esto tenia limada la parte de la reja del aposento donde estaba con unas tijeras hechas lima, y tenia pensado descolgarse con unas cuerdas habiendo prevenido gentes que le recogiesen en el mercado y cerrasen por defuera las puertas de la cárcel con un candado fuerte para que la gente de guarda que está dentro no pudiese salir. . . [el Regente] fué en persona á la cárcel y reconosciendo el aposento halló limada tanta parte de la reja cuanta bastaba para salir cualquier hombre, y una cuerda de seda, y otra de cáñamo que son al propósito de lo que él pretendia.' *Documentos Inéditos*

(Madrid, 1848), vol. xii, pp. 379–80. See also pp. 382–9. Perez himself denies this attempt at escape. *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 217.

(69) *Idem*, pp. 221–2.

(70) *Idem*, pp. 117–19.

(71) *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, p. 523.

(72) 'Serenissima Señora. Antonio Perez se presenta ante vuestra Alteza por medio deste papel, y de la persona que le lleua Señora, pues no deue de auer en la tierra rincon ny escondrijo à donde no aya llegado el sonido de mis persecuçiones, y auenturas, segun el estruendo dellas, de creer es que mejor aurà llegado à los lugares tan altos, como vuestra Alteza, la notiçia dellos. Estas han sido, y son tales por su grandeza, y larga duraçion, que me han reduzido à vltimo punto de neçessidad, por la ley de la Defensa, y Conseruaçion Natural, à buscar algun puerto donde saluar esta persona, y apartar la deste mar tempestuoso, que en tal braueza le sustenta la Passion de ministros tantos años ha, como es notorio al mundo. Razon, Señora, bastante para creer que he estado como metal à prueua de martillo, y de todas prueuas. Supplico à vuestra Alteza, me de su amparo, y seguro, y donde, pueda con-

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seguir este fin mio, ò si mas fuere su voluntad, fauor, y guia para que yo pueda con seguridad passar, y llegar à otra Prinçipe de quien reçiba este beneficio. Hara vuestra Alteza obra deuida à su Grandeza, pues LOS Prinçipes tienen, y deuen exerçitar en la tierra la naturaleza de los elementos : que para conseruacion del mundo, lo que vn elemento sigue, y persigue, otro acoge, y defiende. Y como à los Prinçipes se les presentan, y admiten con graçia y curiosidad los animales raros, y monstruos de la Naturaleza ; à vuestra Alteza se le presentarà delante vn Monstruo de la Fortuna : que siempre fueron de mayor admiraçion, que los otros, como effectos de causas mas violentas. Y este lo puede ser por esto, y por ver con que no nada se ha tomado, embraueçido tanto tiempo ha la Fortuna, y por quien se ha trauado tan al descubierto aquella competençia antigua de la Fortuna con la Naturaleza, y la porfia natural de la Passion de la vna con el Fauor de la otra, y de las gentes De Sallen à xviii. de Nouiembre, 1591.' *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), pp. 152–3.

(73) *Idem*, p. 154.

(74) *Idem*, p. 155.

(75) *Idem*, p. 155.

(76) '. . . Mas los que libraron peor fueron los aragoneses : pues de una parte cayó sóbre ellos todo el enojo de Felipe II, y de otra se vieron privados de la actividad y direccion de Antonio Perez, quien debiendo morir á su lado los abandonó cobardemente en la hora del peligro, porque pudo mas en su ánimo egoista é ingrato salvar su vida á toda costa, que darla gloriosamente en defensa de unos fueros que habian sido su único escudo, y que solo él habia comprometido.' *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, p. 6. Perez seems to have tried to induce Catherine of Béarn to invade Aragón. At any rate an army of Béarnese under command of Diego de Heredia, Martin de Lanuza, and Gil de Mesa entered Aragón, but made no headway.

(77) Success was impossible because, of the whole kingdom of Aragón, only Teruel and Albarracin came to the help of Saragossa: Vargas had about 10,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry under him. The Duke of Villahermosa and the Count of Aranda had left Saragossa before the little army led by Juan de Lanuza (son of the Juan de Lanuza who had come to fetch Perez from Calatayud) tried to bar Vargas's way. Juan de Lanuza realized the hopelessness of his task and

retired promptly to Epila. The remaining leaders followed suit: the Aragonese army poured in disorderly confusion back into Saragossa, and Vargas entered the city without striking a blow.

(78) Executions were almost wholesale. Of those mentioned in connexion with Perez, the following suffered condemnation: Juan de Lanuza, the *Justicia* mayor, was beheaded, the Duke of Villahermosa and the Count of Aranda were imprisoned and died a year later, Juan de Luna and Diego de Heredia were both beheaded, their heads being exposed, for greater ignominy, during all Philip II's reign. Those whom the King's hand left untouched were dealt with by the Inquisition. See *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, p. 566.

(79) 'That he [Perez] disdain'd to blemish his fortunes past by entertaining any less under other princes, who could afford him none so great . . .' Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. i, p. 450.

(80) *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 314.

(81) *Idem*, vol. i, p. 141.

(82) *Testimonio auténtico de la sentencia fulminada contra Antonio Perez por los*

inquisidores de Zaragoza á 20 de octubre de 1592.

Yo Andrés de Tores notario apostólico y del Secreto del Sancto Oficio de la Inquisicion de reino de Aragon, que reside en la ciudad de Zaragoza, doy fé y testimonio á todos los que la presente vieren en como consta y parece que en veinte dias del mes de octubre del año pasado de mill y quinientos noventa y dos, se pronunció una sentencia contra Antonio Perez secretario que fué del Rey nuestro Señor, la cual es como se sigue:

Visto por nos los inquisidores contra la herética pravedad é apostasía en el reino de Aragon con la ciudad y obispado de Lérida, por auctoridad apostólica, juntamente con el ordinario del arzobispado de Zaragoza, un proceso de pleito é causa criminal que ante nos ha pendido y pende entre partes, de la una el promotor fiscal de la fee, actor acusante, y de la otra Antonio Perez ausente fugitivo, secretario que fué del Rey nuestro Señor, residente en esta ciudad, cuya estatua está presente:

Christi nomine invocato

Fallamos, atentos los autos y méritos del dicho proceso, el dicho promotor fiscal probó bien y cumplidamente su acusacion, segun

y como probar le convino: en consecuencia de lo cual debemos declarar y declaramos al dicho Antonio Perez por convicto de hereje, y por ello haber caido é incurrido en sentencia de excomunion mayor y estar della ligado, y en confiscacion y perdimiento de todos sus bienes, los cuales mandamos aplicar y aplicamos á la cámara y fisco de S. M. y á su receptor en su nombre, desde el dia y tiempo que comenzó á cometer los dichos delictos de herejía, cuya declaracion en nos reservamos. Y relajamos la persona del dicho Antonio Perez, si pudiere ser habido, á la justicia y brazo seglar, para que en él sea ejecutada la pena que de derecho en tal caso se requiere. Y porque al presente la persona del dicho Antonio Perez ausente no puede ser habida, mandamos que en su lugar sea sacada al auto una estatua que la represente, con una coroza de condenado, y con un sanbenito que tenga de una parte las insignias y figura de condenado, y de la otra un letrero con su nombre: la cual estatua esté presente al tiempo que esta nuestra sentencia se leyere, y aquella sea entregada á la justicia y brazo seglar, acabada de leer la dicha sentencia, para que la mande quemar é incinerar. Y declaramos por inhábiles é incapaces á los hijos

y hijas del dicho Antonio Perez y á sus nietos por línea masculina, para poder haber, tener y poseer dignidad, beneficios y oficios, así eclesiásticos como seglares que sean públicos ó de honra, y no poder traer sobre sí ni sus personas oro, plata, ni perlas, piedras preciosas, corales, seda, chamelote, paño fino, ni andar á caballo, ni traer armas, ni ejercer ni usar de las cosas arbitrarias á las semejantes inhábiles prohibidas, así por derecho comun como por leyes y pregmáticas destos reinos é instrucciones del Sancto Oficio. Y porque seria de poco fructo pronunciar sentencias si no se mandasen traer á debida ejecucion, exhortamos y amonestamos, y so pena de excomunion mayor *latæ sententiæ*, y de cada quinientos ducados de oro para gastos extraordinarios deste Sancto Oficio y otras penas á nuestro arbitrio reservados, mandamos á todos y cualesquier jueces y oficiales, así eclesiásticos como seglares, y otras cualesquier personas de cualquier estado, grado, dignidad ó condicion que sean, que al dicho Antonio Perez convencido de hereje fugitivo condenado, donde quier que estuviere y pudiere ser habido, aunque sea en iglesia, monesterio ó otro lugar sagrado y cuanto quier previllegiado, le sigan y prendan, y con

buena y fiel custodia traigan y hagan traer ante nos para que dél se haga cumplimiento de justicia, dándoles para ello auctoridad y poder cumplido, con apercibimiento que no lo haciendo, mandarémos proceder y se procederá contra los que le hablaren, tractaren ó comunicaren, y contra los que pudiéndole prender no le prendieren, ó en algo de lo sobredicho fueren negligentes ó culpados, como contra fauctores, defensores y receptadores de herejes, á ejecucion de las dichas penas y de las otras por derecho estatuidas y ordenadas: y á la persona ó personas que le prendiere y antes nos trujere, les hacemos gracia y merced de todos los bienes y cosas que consigo llevare, y le concedemos las indulgencias, gracias y perdones que por los Sumos Pontífices para semejantes casos han sido concedidas. Y por esta nuestra sentencia definitiva juzgando ansí lo pronunciamos y mandamos en estos escriptos y por ellos *pro tribunali sedentes*—El licenciado Pedro de Zamora—El licenciado Velarde de la Concha—El doctor Juan Moriz de Salazar—El Doctor Pedro Reves. *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xii, pp. 558–61.

(83) Attempts upon Perez's life were made soon after his refusal to return to Spain, even

with a safe-conduct promised him in the King's name (*Relaciones*, pp. 156–7). The Genoese Mayorini revealed how he had been bribed to asassinate Perez: an Aragonese, Gaspar Burces, would have suffered death in Pau but for Perez's intercession (*Idem*, pp. 159–61). There is a lively account in the *Relaciones* (pp. 162–3) of the lady who was offered 6,coo crowns and six horses to betray Antonio Perez, and whose affections prevented her playing the part of Judas. On Perez's first journey to England, a plot was afoot to waylay him, and in London itself two men were hanged on suspicious evidence of the same purpose, whilst in Paris Pinilla was executed, upon his own confession under torture, on the Place de la Grève. C. Fernández Duro is sceptical of these attempts, especially of their coming directly from Philip II. As he rightly suggests, the very fact of a price being set on Perez's head would imperil his life. See C. Fernández Duro, *Estudios históricos del reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid, 1890), pp. 258–60.

(84) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Primeras Cartas de A. P.*, *Carta* iv, p. 464.

(85) There appears to be some doubt as to this date, if we may judge from the following

passage by Birch :—'This is the first mention [Decr. 18th, 1593] which I meet with, among Mr. Bacon's papers, of that remarkable person's being in England, tho' it appears from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to lord Zouch, dated at Florence, August 14, 1592 N. S., that he was then gone to England. . .' Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. i, p. 140.

(86) *Idem*, p. 143.

(87) *Idem*, p. 193.

(88) A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878), pp. 271–2.

(89) *Primeras Cartas de A. P.*, Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Carta* xxix, p. 469.

(90) Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. i, p. 475.

(91) *Idem*, p. 256.

(92) *Idem*, p. 265.

(93) *Idem*, p. 291.

(94) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Primeras Cartas de Antonio Perez*, *Carta* xlvii, p. 475.

(95) Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. i, p. 368.

(96) *Idem*, p. 281.

(97) *Idem*, p. 299.

(98) *Idem*, p. 318.
(99) *Idem*, pp. 344–9.
(100) *Idem*, p. 368.
(101) *Idem*, p. 372.
(102) *Idem*, p. 402.
(103) *Idem*, p. 434.
(104) *Idem*, pp. 435, 449.
(105) *Idem*, p. 450.
(106) Antonio Perez's arrival in England is described by Sir Anthony Standen as 'an unpleasant and queasy news to this court . . .' *Idem*, p. 467.
(107) *Idem*, pp. 466–7.
(108) *Idem*, p. 476.
(109) *Idem*, p. 478.
(110) *Idem*, p. 486.
(111) *Idem*, vol. ii, pp. 141–3.
(112) *Idem*, vol. ii, pp. 203, 320.
(113) *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 245.
(114) A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878), pp. 274–6.
(115) Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. ii, p. 239.
(116) *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 257.
(117) *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 288.
(118) 'And he still felt himself like a

man, who had married a great rich widow, whom he could not love near so well as another with less dowry; but finding himself rejected in England, for the love of which he had thus languished and lingered all this while, he was at length by poverty compelled to cast away himself there, where he had been so long wooed and sought. "How precise he will be," says Mr. Naunton, "*in omni hoc debito conjugali fideliter exolvendo*, I cannot yet divine. But if he be no more scrupulous in this mystical matrimony, than he hath been in his real, his kind nature cannot cancel all hope of his straining a point, to cherish his old loves with some by-favours now and then, as he shall have opportunity to do it *cauté*."' *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 258.

(119) *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 322.

(120) Thomas Birch, *An Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, From the year 1592 to 1617* (London, 1749), p. 64.

(121) Naunton fears that he may have handed some of Perez's letters to untrustworthy messengers, and writes to Essex, '. . . if they out of my follies have traced out a way to work him [Perez] prejudice; this, my lord, this, I say, must needs touch me so

near, as tho' Perez should never know it, or tho' he should know it, and forgive my simplicity, yet shall I never forgive myself so deadly a sin against him, as I cannot commit any other alike heinous against myself. I have always held sins against loyalty and good nature to be a branch of that irremissible sin against the Holy Ghost. . .' Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. ii, p. 367.

(122) A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878), pp. 278, 279.

(123) Thomas Birch, *An Historical View, etc.*, pp. 79-81.

(124) Henry IV charged the Count de Rochepot, his Ambassador in Spain in 1600, to do his utmost for Perez and his family. He was not, therefore, unmindful of his promises.

(125) Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. i, p. 142.

(126) M. Morel-Fatio, contrary to M. Mignet and C. Fernández Duro, inclines to the view that Perez was still receiving a pension from Henry IV in 1609. See *L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878), p. 297.

(127) Manuel Don Lope was an old friend

of Perez's. It was at his house, 'casa de la libertad', that Perez's supporters in Aragón used to meet.

(128) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Segundas Cartas de A. P.*, *Carta* xvii, p. 498.

(129) *Idem*, *Primeras Cartas*, *Carta* cxiii p. 487.

(130) *Idem*, *Segundas Cartas*, *Carta* lxxxvi, p. 524.

(131) *Idem*, *Primeras Cartas*, *Carta* ci, pp. 483-4.

(132) *Idem*, *Carta* cxv, p. 487.

(133) *Idem*, *Segundas Cartas*, *Carta Primera*, p. 494.

(134) *Idem*, *Carta* xciv, p. 526.

(135) *Idem*, *Primeras Cartas*, *Carta* lxi, p. 478.

(136) *Idem*, *Carta* xxiii, p. 468.

(137) *Idem*, *Segundas Cartas*, *Carta* cli, p. 562.

(138) *Idem*, *Carta* clii, p. 563.

(139) T. Birch, *Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1754), vol. ii, p. 212.

(140) A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle* (Heilbronn, 1878), Ch. viii, p. 278.

(141) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 311.

(142) '. . . yo estaba en la cama á 16 deste mes, por la poca salud con que ando, envuelto en mis papeles (mis compañeros y entretenimiento ordinarios), que estoy recogiendo para dar alguna parte de los negocios grandes que han pasado por estas manos y confianza, y por las de mi padre, y para que se vea algun dia en qué he pasado tantos ratos de soledad y melancolía . . .' Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Segundas Cartas de A. P.*, *Carta* cxlix, p. 560.

(143) *Idem*, *Carta* cxlvii, p. 549.

(144) M. Gomez Uriel, *Bibliotecas antigua y nueva de escritores aragoneses de Latassa.* (Zaragoza, 1885), vol. ii, p. 532.

(145) *Idem.*

(146) *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá* (Valencia, 1872), vol. ii, p. 281. It has been conjectured that this work may be an alternative title of the *Aforismos* and that the *Máximas políticas* have no independent existence.

(147) An account of the events which took place on September 24th had been published by Perez, when he was in Béarn. It was probably this 'pedazo de historia' which was incorporated in the larger work.

(148) *Idem*, p. 296.

(149) J. L. Whitney, *Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese Books bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1879), p. 264.

(150) Bib. de Aut. Esp., vol. xiii, *Segundas Cartas de A. P.*, *Carta* xc, p. 525.

(151) 'En medio de mis prisiones embié à Milan vn criado publicamente con x. mill escudos . . . à hazer vna cama, y colgadura de terçiopelo carmesi, y telas en todo ello bordadas las dos deuisas en mayores figuras, sin muchos camafeos, escritorios, bufetes, carrozas, y plata, que labraua de industria de nueuo cada dia por estender en todo estas deuisas'. *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 16.

(152) *Relaciones de A. P.* (Paris, 1598), p. 3.

(153) M. Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (London, 1905), pp. 268–74.

(154) Shakespeare, *Love's Labour Lost*, Act v, Sc. i.

(155) There may be some touches reminiscent of Perez in the character of Shylock. See Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London, 1915), p. 133, n. 2.

(156) A. de Puibusque, *Histoire comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française*

(Paris, 1843), vol. ii, pp. 10, 27. See also Philarète Chasles, *Antonio Pérez* in *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris, 1840), vol. xxii, pp. 701–16.

(157) *Obras de Lorenzo Gracian* (Barcelona, 1700), vol. ii, pp. 260–3.

(158) A. Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne* (Paris, 1895), vol. i, p. 33.

(159) *Obras de Lorenzo Gracian* (Barcelona, 1700), vol. ii, p. 357.

(160) *Idem*, vol. ii, p. 329. See also A. Coster, *Baltasar Gracian* in *Revue Hispanique* (1913), t. xxix, pp. 457–9. M. Coster says that Antonio Perez is only mentioned by name once by Gracian. This is a slip. In *El Criticon*, *Segunda parte*, Gracian writes: '...las mismas cadenillas de Hercules, que procediendole à él de la lengua, aprisionavan à los demàs de los oydos; y quieren dezir, las huvo de Antonio Perez ... En el sonido parecen de plata, y en la estimacion de perlas, de una muy cortesana eloquencia'. *Idem*, vol. i, p. 157.

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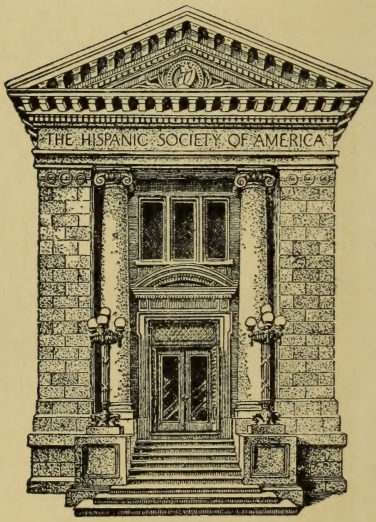

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